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## *The Case Against Peacetime Conscription*

**I**N VIEW of the fact that I am a Catholic priest, I should make it quite well understood at the outset I am not representing any Catholic organization.

The Michigan Council to Oppose Peacetime Military Conscription is an organization which was formed in Detroit and has spread throughout the State of Michigan to oppose peacetime conscription legislation.

It is composed of educators, college men, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen, farmers, the Grange, labor leaders of both AFL and CIO, business and industrial leaders, social workers, the YMCA, the YWCA, members of the journalistic profession, and professional people of all types, and I am here today to present the views of this group on proposed peacetime conscription.

They have asked me to bring here a set of resolutions and I shall now read them:

The council opposes enactment of legis-

*Statement read by the Rev. Dr. William J. Millor, S.J., President, University of Detroit, before a House Committee on Postwar Military Policy, June 6, 1945.*

lation for peacetime military conscription for the following reasons:

1. It is unnecessary now, since it will contribute nothing towards winning the war. Moreover, at the war's end, we shall have sufficient well-trained and experienced soldiers and military equipment adequate to meet any contingency or responsibility.
2. Nothing could more effectively create suspicion, mistrust and fear among our allies and other nations. It would diminish the possibility of creating a lasting peace and developing adequate international cooperation, since it would stimulate a universal armament race.
3. It is unwise and unfair to pass such drastic legislation while we are in the grip of war hysteria and before our servicemen return.
4. The so-called benefits of military training would accrue to too few, too late, and to those who least need it. Uni-

versal health and character education is the needed alternative.

5. Democracy cannot be developed by autocratic methods and totalitarian techniques. To adopt the essence of the system we are fighting to destroy is to be victimized by victory.

6. All valid discipline, self-control, etc., are inwardly inducted by voluntary acceptance of such values. They cannot be externally superimposed or cultivated under compulsion.

7. Military conscription as an antidote to unemployment is a vicious evasion of the Nation's duty to tackle the real problem of eliminating poverty and making provision for universal employment in creative enterprises.

8. Inventive genius will be increasingly restricted to developing destructive devices that are incredibly wasteful.

9. Authentic education and military indoctrination are inherently contradictory. Nothing is more dangerous to democracy than the conditioning, regimentation and uncritical obedience to arbitrary authority that most compulsory military training induces.

10. To adopt peacetime military conscription is to reject the sincere attempt to create a world organization and is to confess that, despite military victory, we have already lost the peace.

In order that all citizens entertaining similar convictions may coordinate their activities, we are requesting representatives of all organizations now seeking this end, as well as individual citizens from all walks of life, to participate in this organization.

Now, to expand these ideas a bit:

It is the conviction of this committee, in the light of available information, that peacetime military conscription is not the advisable way, the necessary way, or the American way

to meet our problem of providing either for our national security or for international peace. At the same time the committee believes that we shall have to maintain a large Army and Navy with adequate Reserves for many years to come, not only to help safeguard the peace under whatever international organization may be adopted, but also for our own national security. Furthermore, there must be provided an effective means of recruiting a large Army and Navy with adequate Reserves. We have sufficient confidence in American ingenuity to believe that this can be accomplished without resort to the extreme method of peacetime conscription.

#### DOUBTFUL METHOD

Making all due allowances for the importance of having a pool of military-trained manpower in peacetime, conscription, at the best, is but a doubtful way of attaining this objective. Although military conscription has proved to be very successful in wartime, this is no guaranty that it will even be moderately successful in peacetime. The whole environment and psychology of peacetime differ radically from those of wartime. Peacetime measures, which have the character of permanence, will have a vastly different effect on our social and political structure than the same measures would have when adopted as emergency or temporary expedients in wartime.

Peacetime conscription, as presently proposed, will be more detrimental than helpful to our country. It will be detrimental to the morale of our youth, it will be detrimental to the vocations and careers of our youth, it will be detrimental to the religion and morals of our youth, it will be detrimental to our political and social institutions.

*It will be detrimental to the morale of our youth.* Because of the gravity of the present war, the savagery of the fighting, and the heavy casualties, there is strong motivation for youth to take military training seriously as a life-and-death matter. Facing the possibility of actual attack, youths of 17 and 18 years and older are more serious and mature than they would be at comparable ages in peacetime. They are more amenable to officers, to chaplains and to restraint in general than they would be in time of peace. In brief, the morale problem will be much greater in peacetime than in wartime, while the agencies and measures now in use to keep up morale will tend to be weaker, much less effective, or will disappear altogether.

*It will be detrimental to the vocations and careers of our youth.* A young man will be taken away from his family and community at the very time that he is thinking and preparing for a vocation or career in life. Particularly, if he is thinking of one of the learned professions and has ambi-

tions and abilities that would enable him to qualify as a doctor, clergyman, lawyer, or scientist, a year in military camp—with its soft-pedaling of initiative, its “don’t think but obey” maxims—could really do things to an impressionable youth which would change for the worse his whole life. Almost any educator can bear witness to the harmful effect, particularly on the superior-type student, of taking him away from his studies for a whole year at this period of his life. The dislocations in the ambitions and careers of our youth under peacetime conscription would bode ill for our country.

*It will be detrimental to the religion and morals of our youth.* The proposed plan of compulsory military training would remove young men from home and community influences at a time when they need this environment most as a protection against moral and religious laxity. The isolation of large numbers of men in camps is notorious for bringing about a coarsening of manners, speech and morals.

When released periodically from the constraint of camp life, there is great temptation to drinking, carousing and sexual laxity. There is every reason to believe that this problem will be greater in peacetime than in wartime. The young men will all be of the same impressionable age, whereas now the wider distribution of ages helps some. They will all be essen-

tially "buck privates" or "boots." Officer training will be reserved for other programs which are to be superimposed upon the year of military training.

During the present war extraordinary efforts have been made by the Government and by civilian agencies to protect the religion and morals of the men in the armed forces. Under the motivation of war, intensive efforts have been made which would tend to "peter out" under a long-term policy of peace. The young men presently in the armed forces have the motivation of a deadly serious war, the help of chaplains and religious services, the various activities of the USO and of private agencies and individuals to help, in place of home and community environment, to keep them straight. In general, counteracting forces for good will either disappear or become much weaker in peace than in wartime.

#### A DETRIMENT

*It will be detrimental to our democratic, political and social institutions.* In our form of government, military cliques, military dictatorships and the military mind have been conspicuously absent. Ultimate policy and decision in military matters, even in wartime, have been kept under civilian control while allowing full place to the judgment and recommendations of professional military leaders. It is important that we keep this so. We have

tragic examples in Germany and Japan of what can happen if it be otherwise.

There are those who feel that a permanent policy of universal military training under the complete control of the military would jeopardize this traditional balance. It would also have a disruptive influence on home life, in so far as the Government would be stepping into the home and taking therefrom youth during their minority for at least a year of training apart from all parental influence and authority. It would, in a sense, usurp the functions of our educational system during at least one year of a youth's life. It would tend to weaken the hold of the church upon the young, as many chaplains and church leaders can testify.

The developing of better health and discipline for our youth is sometimes urged as benefits to be derived from a program of compulsory military training. It is fallacious to assume that a year of military training can adequately solve these problems and there is no reason whatever to permit the military system to usurp the obligation and function of the home, the school and the community in this regard.

Peacetime conscription is not the democratic and up-to-date method of protecting ourselves against future hostile attacks. Although compulsory military training in peacetime would be a radically new idea in the United



States, it is not a new or untried idea in the world at large. It was not designed to meet the problem of modern war and there is no evidence to show that it has met that problem. France, Belgium, and other countries of Europe have had compulsory military training for years, but it did not enable them to withstand the Luftwaffe and the blitzkrieg. It would seem rather, that it had lulled them into a false feeling of security. Now that we are in the war on all fronts, there is ample evidence that our soldiers have not met better or more intelligent fighting men in Germany, Italy, or Japan. Yet these nations have had universal military training for years. We should not make the mistake of adopting what well may be an outmoded system to enforce peace and to meet the future threat of ultra-modern war.

#### MORE STUDY NEEDED

Under the hysteria and confusion of war, why rush into a program that goes so contrary to our traditions and may endanger that which has been up to now our national strength? Why is there so much need of haste? When the war is over and the pattern of peace is clearer and most of the men and women presently in the Armed Forces, whose children would be

vitaly affected by the proposed legislation, have returned, it will be possible to act much more intelligently. In the meantime, Selective Service will take care of our needs, not only during the war, but also for some time afterward if necessary.

We need more study, discussion and planning to appraise properly our problem and to gage the probable effects of the measure proposed to meet it. Have we given sufficient consideration to meeting the need for a large army and navy by making voluntary service in the armed forces more attractive as a career, financially and otherwise? Are we sure that a more beneficial type of universal military training cannot be worked out through the schools and colleges, through the National Guard, and through summer military camps? A plan, which would utilize all these agencies and assign to each its share in the program, might even require by law the participation of all youth physically able and still avoid most of the dangers that seem inherent in the proposal now before Congress. Such a program might be more difficult and expensive to operate—and it is not the way that totalitarian nations would work it out—but would it not be more in accord with our ideal of maximum liberty for the individual?

# *A Democratic Plan for National Defense*

BY A COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

## I. INTRODUCTION

IN common with all American citizens, the National Catholic Educational Association feels a deep concern over proposals for our permanent peacetime defense policy. It believes that as educators of youth it has a right as well as an obligation to state its views not only on what it regards as unwise and objectionable but also on what type of defense policy it would consider adequate and desirable in the light of our national needs and democratic traditions.

The Association is convinced that lasting peace must be brought about through international institutions for security which will make possible the progressive reduction of armaments.

However, pending the realization of this ultimate goal of reduced armaments, it sees the need of providing a sound and adequate national defense policy. But it can only view plans involving compulsory universal military training in peacetime as being farthest from this ideal of reduction of armaments and as seriously jeopardizing its eventual realization.

Five major factors, it seems to the Association, must enter into consideration when drafting a sound program of national defense: *first*, our new position politically in world af-

fairs; *second*, the nature of the peace; *third*, the changing methods of warfare, consequent upon technological advance and the experiences of this war; *fourth*, financial feasibility; *fifth*, the preservation of our unique democratic traditions.

By "our new position politically in world affairs" is meant the commitments we are making and will make in supporting an international organization for preserving peace.

By "the nature of the peace" is understood simply whether the peace settlements will give reasonable assurance of reduced international tension.

By "the changing methods of warfare" is meant the increased importance of machine-power over manpower and the continuous development of new types of military weapons which make obsolete the instruments and tactics of the year before.

"Financial feasibility" refers to the ability of a defense policy to get adequate appropriations *year after year*. This can be achieved only if the defense policy is so soundly constructed that it can justify its value to the taxpayers as a worthwhile investment in national security over a long period of years.

By "the preservation of our unique democratic traditions" is meant that any future defense plan should be so

constructed as to conform to, and certainly in no way tend to weaken, our democratic ideals and institutions which it is the intention of such a plan to protect and preserve.

## II. A DEMOCRATIC PLAN

The essential problem is how to raise and keep in readiness an adequate reserve force in case of attack. There is no question of keeping the Nation on a permanent war footing.

A realistic preparation for defense does not consist so much in mass manpower as in a nucleus of intelligent, interested and willing reserves. What General H. H. Arnold, Commanding General of Army Air Forces, said in his official report of February 26, 1945, in regard to air power, applies with equal weight to manpower. "We must not make the mistake," he said, "that mere numbers make an air force; a second-rate air force is worse than none because it gives rise to a false sense of security." A similar warning is given by Hanson Baldwin, a top-ranking writer on military and naval affairs, in the March 1945 *Harper's*: "We must also face the possibility that the existence of a mass reserve, if this reserve were trained in the concepts of the past war, not the future war, might stultify all military progress in this country; even the military might confuse peacetime conscription with military strength."

A selective but at the same time adequate reserve force would be finan-

cially feasible and thus would be able to enlist the support of taxpayers year after year. The compulsory-training feature of the defense program, as proposed in bills now pending, is most vulnerable (e.g. to Congressional retrenchment, parental objections, etc.) and the one most likely to be eliminated. We doubt the wisdom of basing our defense policy on so unstable a foundation.

This reserve force is primarily an Army rather than a Navy problem. For the concept of a "citizen army," which enters so fundamentally into General Marshall's program, means that civilian reserves, trained in peacetime, would reinforce, as organized and distinctive units, the professional army in time of emergency or war. This concept is applicable and of practical significance only in relation to the Army, and then only in relation to the *Army ground forces*. It is completely different from the Navy concept, in which there is no place for an equivalent "citizen Navy." This will be more clearly understood from the following analysis of military needs for defense.

1. According to the proponents of the pending May Bill, trainees will be divided between the Army and the Navy in the proportion of 5 to 2. Although the official view of the Navy favors conscription, there is solid reason for believing that the majority of Navy officials feel it is unsuited to the Navy. Even if we maintain a

big Navy after the war, as seems probable, the Navy's long tradition of voluntary service leaves no shadow of doubt of its ability to get all the enlistments it needs, not only for the Navy proper but for its Naval Reserve. Furthermore, the Navy must always be maintained on a war basis, in the sense of being ready for any eventuality. Hence there is need primarily of a *professional Navy*.

2. The manpower needs of the Marines can also be adequately maintained by volunteer enlistments. Like the Navy, the Marines must be prepared for *immediate action*. The Marines do not want and cannot effectively use conscripts. There is need of a *professional Marine Corps*.

3. Nor does the Air Force want conscripts, who would hinder the effectiveness of its program. For clear proof of this one has only to read General H. H. Arnold's full report, cited above. Under the United Nations Charter we are obliged to maintain national air-force contingents "immediately available." Such a force would be rendered ineffectual were it made up of half-trained men of twelve months of experience. And so there is need, too, of a *professional Air Corps*.

As an aid to recruiting these professional units, recommendation has been made in some quarters to increase the number of Federal military academies or colleges, on the type of West Point and Annapolis. These schools

might offer special technical training, for example, aeronautical, communications, intelligence, etc.

Limiting, therefore, the real problem of reserves to the Army ground forces, the question is whether this "citizen army" should be raised on a mass or selective, on a quantitative or qualitative basis. It seems evident, objectively, that a *selective* citizen reserve would be both more efficient and more economical. Intelligent and interested young Americans are clearly more desirable material to work on than myriads of uninterested, unwilling and possibly unintelligent conscript trainees.

Recruitment of this selected reserve, on a voluntary basis, could be carried out in various ways, as the following suggestions will indicate.

In working on its plan of defense, the National Catholic Educational Association was very much impressed by the high official praise bestowed, even by present proponents of conscription, upon the National Defense Act of 1920. The Association wonders whether the answer to the problem of reserves does not lie in this neglected Act. For much has been written, in the past year, about the importance of a "Citizen Army." The Association reflects that the National Defense Act of 1920 was constructed with the intention of providing America with just such a Citizen Army, based, according to the military experts, on the principles left by

George Washington. We find in the current military literature little or no criticism of the organizational character of the Army envisioned in this Act. We assume, therefore, that any future program proposed by the military experts will be essentially the same—except that they now wish to add the compulsory-training feature.

We are constantly assured by proponents of conscription that voluntary methods have been tried and have not succeeded. Although we do not wish to seem to challenge expert witnesses on this head, nevertheless it must be pointed out that the Army is making this very assumption which it denies is possible of realization. For it states that it anticipates no difficulty whatever in raising adequate volunteers from among the conscripted trainees both for the Regular Army and the National Guard. This assumption, it seems to us, has no more, and probably less, certainty than the assumption that recruitment will be successful apart from a compulsory program of training.

#### LACK OF APPROPRIATIONS

The Association would like to emphasize that if the National Defense Act of 1920 were inadequate and found us more or less unprepared for war in 1941, this cannot seriously be laid to the absence of conscription. It is a matter of record in the Annual Reports of the War Department that the Act of 1920 was not carried out

largely because of lack of appropriations. It is clear that no program of universal training could have prevented Congressional retrenchments. Universal military training would have shared the fate of the rest of the National Defense Act of 1920.

Since the Act has never been criticized as containing intrinsic defects, the Association feels that it may properly use this plan as the basis for its present suggestion for the Army of the future. It refuses to accept the contention that our defense in the past failed for lack of a compulsory-training clause.

1. *The National Guard.* Next after the Regular Army in our national defense system must be reckoned the National Guard. It is a citizen body, officered by non-professionals, which is kept in readiness and can be called out by the President in times of emergency. The Association believes that the reserve Army of the future must draw its main reliance from the National Guard. The following suggestions are contained in the National Defense Act, as amended.

a) *Service Schools.* According to Section 99, selected officers, warrant officers, or enlisted men of the National Guard may attend a regular course of study at any military service school of the United States except the Military Academy at West Point. Such students are entitled to receive the pay and allowances of Regular Army men of similar rank. The Asso-

ciation believes that attendance at such service schools, which are bound to be technical, can provide sufficient inducement to young men to attach themselves to the National Guard and undertake its other obligations. It believes that wide opportunities given for the expansion of this program will be more desirable and efficient than a compulsory-training program.

b) *Joint Maneuvers.* Section 94 authorizes joint maneuvers of the National Guard and the Regular Army. Prior to the imminence of war, such maneuvers were rarely if ever held. The Association feels that the dissatisfaction found with the National Guard was largely due to failure to conduct such maneuvers in conjunction with the professional Army. Whether mutual jealousy entered in here we do not venture to say. It is clear, however, that inadequate appropriations were much to blame. If universal military training is considered worth the expense, certainly adequate funds for such joint maneuvers should be even more justified.

2. *Reserve Officers Training Corps.* The Officers Reserve Corps, another reserve component of the Army of the United States, was meant to be supplied continually through units of the R.O.T.C. established in educational institutions throughout the country. The Association doubts that this program be exploited to its full possibilities. The National Defense

Act of 1920 suggests these further queries:

a) *Inducements.* Section 47c provides that a college student in the R.O.T.C., who has been selected for advanced training in the final two years of college, may be furnished at the expense of the United States commutation of subsistence at a rate fixed by the Secretary of War. The Association wonders if the inducement of additional recompense would not serve to make more men anxious to take the advanced course, even though it would involve obligations on another score. This, it believes, would be at least more desirable than compulsory military training.

b) *Further Inducements.* Section 47c deals with Training Camps for R.O.T.C. These were limited to six weeks. Allowances were made for time spent in these camps. The Association feels that if these Training Camps were made attractive by suitable inducements, financial and otherwise, they would make the Reserve Officers Training Corps program still more effective.

c) *Officers Candidate Schools.* An experiment of the present war which has given great satisfaction is the wide use made of the Officers' Candidate School. Such opportunity given to enlisted men to rise from the ranks could well be integrated into our future national defense system for the benefit of young Americans who do not go to college.

d) *Junior R.O.T.C.* Section 40 treats of high-school R.O.T.C. units, which were regarded by the War Department as sources of interest in national defense, but which were never sufficiently provided for by Congressional appropriations. In 1941, the high-school R.O.T.C. units enrolled only a total of 60,000 students out of a male high-school enrollment in the United States of over three and a half million. The Association is convinced that if these units were properly expanded they would arouse a tremendously increased military interest and thereby provide a wider base of recruitment for the Regular Army, the National Guard, advanced Reserve Training and other reserve components. Such an expanded program would likewise be far more desirable than compulsory training.

e) *Junior National Guard.* Although the National Defense Act provides for the Junior R.O.T.C., it makes no mention of a Junior National Guard. The possibilities of such an innovation deserve examination. On the one hand a Junior National Guard would be a recruiting source for the National Guard itself. On the other hand, by offering more advanced and specialized facilities it could attract boys in whom the ordinary high-school R.O.T.C. had aroused more interest in military things than the R.O.T.C. itself could satisfy.

f) *Military Schools.* In the list of divisions of the R.O.T.C. the regu-

lations of the War Department mention Class MC. This class is defined as "Military colleges and universities which grant degrees . . . which require all students to pursue military training throughout the course and to be habitually in uniform, which constantly maintain military discipline, and which have as objectives the development of the student by means of military training and the regulation of his conduct in accordance with disciplinary principles." If America must embark on a wide program of military preparedness, it should give consideration to the feasibility of extending the number of these military colleges. At present there are about eight of them (Virginia Military Institute is an example). With proper Federal inducements, more schools could be prevailed upon to enter this classification. In view of the increased emphasis on technical knowledge, many colleges would not consider a reorganization along military lines incompatible with university work.

#### ANOTHER ARMY COMPONENT

3. *Enlisted Reserve Corps.* Another component of the Army of the United States is the Enlisted Reserve Corps (National Defense Act, Section 55). The Corps was apparently intended to serve as the source for obtaining technicians. Unfortunately it remained practically a dead letter until we were threatened with war, at which time young men were enlisted



and allowed to continue school work until called up. The problem of raising the indispensable quota of technicians can be solved here. Since no attempt was made to utilize and explore this feature of the National Defense Act of 1920, except just prior to the present war, the Association urges that its possibilities be examined as an alternative to compulsory recruitment of trained technicians.

4. *Citizens' Military Training Camps.* Section 47d of the National Defense Act made provisions for the military training of youths who were not reached by the R.O.T.C. or the National Guard. This consisted of one month of training in Army camps for such civilians as offered themselves. It is a matter of record that this phase of the National Defense Act was never adequately utilized. It is estimated that twice or three times as many applications for the C.M.T.C. were received annually as could be accepted on the basis of available funds. The Association believes that before a compulsory military-training plan is accepted, the training of civilians by means of the C.M.T.C. should be given a better chance to prove itself than it enjoyed from its inception in 1921.

In conclusion, the National Catholic Educational Association recognized that it is easier to raise an Army by legal compulsion than by voluntary methods. However, this does not excuse the War Department from using

all possible means of attracting voluntary recruits to the various components of the Army of the United States. The Association admits that no voluntary program can produce the numbers that conscription can. But it asserts that such a voluntary program can enlist sufficient numbers of really desirable recruits to constitute an adequate reserve force in times of peace.

To be successful, however, a voluntary program must be founded on good public relations. In peacetime the Army has not been conspicuous for selling itself to the youth of the Nation. Navy methods have won popular approval. The Association is convinced that if the Army adopted similar methods, instead of the easier but unacceptable method of legal compulsion, it could build up a defense of our security which would not only be adequate but also capable of winning the widest possible public support.

WILLIAM F. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.C.  
*Chairman, Department of Education, University of Notre Dame.*

CYRIL F. MEYER, C.M.  
*Dean, St. John's College,  
Brooklyn, N. Y.*

BROTHER BONAVENTURE THOMAS,  
F.S.C.  
*President, Manhattan College,  
New York.*

ALLAN P. FARRELL, S.J. (*Chairman*)  
*Education Editor, AMERICA,  
New York, N. Y.*

# Catholicism and Austria

W. C. BREITENFELD

*Reprinted from The SWORD OF THE SPIRIT\**

**W**HY is it that the national and cultural life in those Alpine and Danubian provinces which since the Great War have been called Austria was, and still is, inextricably interwoven with Catholicism? Why is it that political issues in Austria, in the past and in present days, were always more or less at the same time religious issues or at least were associated with and accentuated by religious aspects?

Austria constitutes an important international intersection point and a junction of historic highways in the very center of the Continent. As early as 30 B.C. she became the north-eastern outpost of the ancient Roman Empire. Imbued with Latin civilization, she was christianized in the third century and became the eastern bulwark of Western Christianity in the Carolingian Empire. Repeatedly she proved herself to be the "shield of Christianity," as medieval poetry called her, when Western Europe was menaced by barbaric pagan invasions from the east. Austria, situated between the Latin sphere in the South, the German region in the North and the Slavonic-Hungarian sphere in the East, found herself placed as center and intermediary amidst a multi-lingual

entanglement of nations whose mutual interdependence, imposed by geographic conditions, made for a peaceful, communal life for them for centuries. The guiding and basic idea of Austria's political and economic existence was therefore that of supra-national unity—the "unity in multitude"—as it was the original and fundamental idea of the Holy Roman Empire, that secular expression of the universalism of the Church and first "League of Nations" under the sign of the Cross.

It is certainly not a freak of chance that Austria's capital Vienna became the residence of the Roman Emperors for many centuries. According to her destiny to live in community with other nations, though distinct in language and racial origin, yet united in the Faith and Latin Christian civilization, the Austrian political conception and her national tradition were defined by the idea of multi-lingual unity. While nationalism was operative as a constructive force in building up states and nations in other countries, it meant in Austria a denial of her very essence and her political principles and was in its radical forms, in fact, tantamount to high treason in the Danubian union of nations; and

\* 68 Gloucester Place, London, W.1, June 1, 1944

subsequently in Austria as part of this community.

If we notice that every schismatic movement in the history of the Church invariably had its roots in nationalistic separatism and that every schism was always much more the result of exaggerated nationalism than of any dogmatic or theological divergency, we can realize the striking parallel of the supra-national, universalist principles of the Church and the fundamental principles of Austria's political existence. The mighty impulses which Austrian intellectual life and culture received from the Latin sphere together with her supra-national political conceptions formed traditions in Austria which could not but be profoundly Catholic. It is not just by chance that the heroic age of Austria and the golden age of her cultural and artistic achievements coincided with the period of the Turkish Wars and the epoch after the religious wars in Europe and the Counter-Reformation. The Austrian population is Catholic with the exception of fragmentary minorities; the whole make-up of the country, its intellectual atmosphere, its civilization, the modes of life and the mentality of its people are Catholic.

The community of nations in the Danube basin could not stand up against the general trend of self-sufficient national sovereignty which became the fashion in the 19th century. But the mentality and the tra-

ditions in Austria which history had formed for six centuries could not be changed in a few decades.

Traditionalism is always a double-edged sword; it implies strength as well as weakness. The traditional lack of strong national feeling—previously her virtue and strength—became a fatal weakness when Austria, standing isolated amongst neighbors who rivalled each other in national self-assertion, was eventually invaded by the strongest neighbor. The same is true with regard to Austria's Catholic traditionalism; tradition is not enough to replace a living Faith. For three centuries the Faith was not challenged nor seriously contested in Austria. Catholicism had become a self-evident tradition and a customary form of life to many Austrians; the people were not asked to make sacrifices for their Faith. Human weakness is always apt to neglect the highest values if there is no need to fight for them.

#### FAITH AND SACRIFICE

It is most significant that throughout history the enemies of Austria were at the same time always the enemies of the Church. This is not only true with regard to external foes, but also to the internal enemies who undermined the political independence of Austria. The pan-Germans in Austria, the forerunners of the Nazis, were the arch enemies of Austria and at the same time the passionate foes of

the Church and everything Rome stands for. The Austro-Marxists who advocated the "Anschluss" after the Great War wanted to sacrifice their country's independence for their party interests and were at the same time violent opponents of the Church and of any religious belief. When finally the Nazis invaded Austria they continued this *Kulturkampf* with all their brutality and the power they were able to exercise upon the subjugated country.

Now Catholicism is no longer the customary easygoing form of life in Austria. It means heavy sacrifices openly to profess the Faith and to live according to it in Austria. The position has changed completely. Under the Nazis a clear-cut division of the people took place. The previously large section of lukewarm or formal Catholics disappeared. Everybody saw himself compelled to make up his mind. One part (and they are a very small minority) apostatized and became real Nazi-pagans, about five per cent of the urban population and less than one per cent of the countryside; the other part, and they

constitute the bulk of the people, became conscious of their Faith, ready to fight for it and prepared for sacrifices.

Times of suffering always are times of grace. The bulk of the Catholic Austrian people stood up steadfastly against the Nazi terror. Though the Nazis did their best to destroy the material basis of the Church, by robbing the clergy of their living, by confiscating the ancient abbeys and monasteries, they were powerless to break the Catholic spirit of the people. Thus it is easy to understand that—as distinct from many other countries occupied by the Germans—the mainspring of resistance in Austria does not derive from national feeling, but from the Catholic Faith of the people. It is here that we shall find the firm and stable basis for a new independent Austria. There may come a time when national self-assertion will give way once more to higher and nobler principles of international order. It may be that the Austrian lack of radical nationalism will enable her again to make a valuable contribution towards peace and order.

### *Workers and the War*

War workers stuck to their jobs on July 4 instead of taking a holiday and, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, on that single day they put in more work than has been lost by all strikes since Pearl Harbor. But that didn't make headlines on July 5.—*The WAGE EARNER, Detroit, Michigan.*

# China's Communist Puzzle

REV. CORMAC SHANAHAN

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**P**UZZLES are made by persons. Their solution is really simple, although purposely or otherwise it is not made too obvious. To the Chinese people as well as to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and China's recognized government, there is no puzzle in the Chinese Communist situation. It is most unfortunate that the round of publicity during the last several months in books, newspapers, magazines and on the radio has actually made the situation puzzling to many Americans. Some millions of them have been misled, though retaining their ordinary good will toward China. Some sincere friends of China have puzzled themselves further by seeking solutions which are based on misleading reports. As life goes, a thing becomes all the more of a puzzle when we persist in trying some simple, logical solution, and, annoyingly, do not find the key. All puzzles are like that. Frustration makes them more bewildering, more intriguing. No harm is done if the work of solving is just a recreation; but when hundreds of millions of lives are at stake, the result might easily be tragic.

The most puzzling feature in the China situation is the unwarranted assumption, widely advertised, that it

is just one political party against another, "like Democrats and Republicans in the United States." That is not so. The Chinese Communists are a minority group (not one-fifth of one per cent of the population), with their own army, in rebellion against the legitimate government recognized by the people of China and the great powers of the world. On a very insignificant scale, their case is like that of our South which rose in rebellion against the North in the Civil War. The Chinese Communists are distrusted, and, where possible, opposed by the people of China because they know the Communists abuse their power. The Chinese Communists are an ideological group whose narrow requirements for membership will always keep their numbers small and never entitle them to the rank of a political party among the people.

The Kuomintang, established on broad lines by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, is more than just a political party. It is a temporary, tutelary power. It overlaps ordinary party lines and can include members of any party. The Kuomintang had twelve of the leading Communists on its Central Executive Committee, with Communists in the

\* 1819 Broadway, New York, N. Y., June, 1945.

key bureaus of the government, until their record proved their bad faith and caused their dismissal. Even then, in 1927, twenty-one out of the thirty-three members of the Central Executive Committee, according to Vincent Sheean, held out for a while with the Communist government in Hankow after Chiang Kai-shek had established the National Government in Nanking. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policy in the earlier 1920's, of "toleration for the Communists," has never been regarded in China and must not be regarded here as an abdication in favor of the Communists. "China is a San Min Chu I Republic," as stated in the first line of its Constitution. It is a Triple Demism, not a Soviet, as was admitted by the Chinese Communists in their renunciation of their Soviet and Communist methods when they made their fairest submission to the Government in 1937. They have not kept those promises.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

If it were not for the need of an all-out effort on the part of all our allies, China's difficulty with its Communists would have attracted little attention except through well-known Communist sympathizers in foreign countries. The total membership in the Chinese Communist Party, according to their own figures, is only 900,000. Their border region, their only political set-up in China, comprises only thirty-two counties, twen-

ty-one of which were forcibly occupied since 1939. There has never been any fighting there between the National Army and the Communists. And the National Army, south of the Communist border, had no American military equipment. In Sian and Keh Nan Po, as well as at Yen-an itself, the figures for both forces were given us and substantially agreed to be between 80,000 and 90,000 Communist soldiers, around 80,000 of the National Army. In numbers and territory involved, the Communist rebellion is a small affair compared with China as a whole. It can never, without foreign help, reach down to interfere with the progress China is bound to make after the war, nor can it harm foreign investments that may be developed in the country. Settling the Communist affair in China would add little to China's war effort against the Japanese.

But to those outside China, particularly in America, war interest and war haste have made China's internal difficulty a puzzle worth studying. "The trouble with China is the disunity there," said a highly-educated American to me on my return. Unity seems an easy solution. But unity is not the key, because, to most of the interested puzzle-solvers, unity means a coalition in power and place. That would lead certainly to disorder and weakness in the Government and Army, with fear and distrust among the people. It is not such unity, tried

already and found wanting, but true submission, with the strength and order it brings, that is the proper solution.

The solution of some foreign military men was also at fault, well-meaning and well-founded though it seemed to be. Allied military intelligence reported on the fighting spirit of the Communist soldiers. This we saw for ourselves. But to the people of China who know more of their bad record, they are regarded in much the same light as Americans regard gangsters. Superior though such gangsters might be at times to our F.B.I. agents, no one would insist on the President's giving them assignments in the F.B.I., his opening our arsenals to them, or on his making them officers in our Army. Furthermore, foreign observers readily accepted the explanation of the Communist Armies in the Yen-an area when they said that they were not fighting because the Central Government would not use them. One foreign correspondent reports that they have been farming there since 1939, "fifteen days of travel from the nearest Jap block-houses"—"a thousand miles by horse-back"—but they were as well equipped (and their arsenals kept them supplied) as other Chinese soldiers of the Central Government fighting a frontal warfare against the Japanese. The other foreign correspondents have in their notes, as I have in mine, the story that Communist General Wang

Cheng told us. He related how in October, 1939, he was ordered to lead the men under him back from the north China front to Shensi and to establish there the "stationary soldier policy." Those orders come from Mao Tse-tung, against the orders of the National Military Council, the supreme war command. The order to discontinue the pay of those soldiers, however, was not issued by the National Military Council until January, 1941. There has never been any blockade to stop them from going back to the front they deserted in obedience to Mao Tse-tung.

That is still the Communist Army situation in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia border region, where all the party and army leaders are assembled. They allow the people no guns there. We saw nearly 40,000 of these people gathered at Yen-an on United Nations Day, mostly the People's Militia, armed only with short spears. The Communist Army had all the guns. In Jap-occupied China, where the Communists claim not a party set-up but only anti-Japanese bases, the situation is different. There light guerrilla activity is carried on, but still no frontal warfare, as they admitted. Even on the maps prepared by the Communists themselves there are dotted areas of Jap occupation along every railroad and large river route and motor highway, and around every large city. The Communists have not held the enemy back from



any important objective. The Japs have everything they could want there. They are not immobilized; they have been able to mobilize from there and bring other troops down through there to the fronts where they were attacking the Central Government's forces. These fronts did hold objectives of value to the Japs and the contention seems logical to more than the Chinese that when Allied help is given, it is there that it should be applied. Loyal National forces also carry on guerrilla activity in occupied China; and there is even a loyal provincial government in Shantung—although the Communists indicate on their maps that Shantung is their area.

#### PEOPLE BEHIND CHIANG KAI-SHEK

It is only an Allied effort on the China front that can bring victory over the Japanese, just as much as Allied effort was necessary in Africa, Italy and France. It is idle to blame the Chinese Government for defeats, because of the Communist break or because of anything within the Kuomintang. The situation is clear, as one Congressman pointed out after his recent visit to China: If our world strategy in this war had been reversed and the war against Japan given first place, where would England be today? Would we be blaming England and saying that the "military defeats were not only disappointing, they were exasperating"?

But China has held out in spite of the opportunities and overtures for an easy peace with Japan. And there is this much, to the great glory of the Chinese, they are solidly behind Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the Government is not seeking an easy peace with the Japanese. The sufferings and deaths among over 60,000,000 refugees tell the eloquent story. And American fliers who have had to bail out, almost everywhere in China, have found loyalty, help and hospitality. It would be a serious danger to strain that friendship for our American boys by foisting on the Chinese people a power they fear and dread, even as they hate the Japs. There must be an end here to what one of our magazines said in a recent issue: "Americans are exerting great pressure to bring about the coalition (between the Communists and the Government) which is a basic condition for victory."

Another wrong solution of the foreign-made puzzle of China is based on a false sympathy for the "poor downtrodden people of the land." "The Communists are doing things; they have something to offer." The fact is, the Communists had their chance at power and as a result the people of China will never have confidence in them. I can speak from experience since I arrived in China in 1926. I lived and worked among the people. Gen. Chen Cheng, in a private conference granted me last

year in Sian, stated: "If one of us were up for election even against Mao Tse-tung, I am positive Mao would not be elected by the people." My own experience corroborates that. Although there have been complaints against individuals in the Government ("We, too, have had our faults," said Gen. Chen Cheng), the people feel it is still their government, and they resent the many foreign criticisms favoring the Communists to that government. I found a healthy condition of criticism in Free China; only Communist agitation was strictly controlled. There were charges in a free and most democratic way against Ho Yin-ching in the People's Political Council; there have been complaints against H. H. Kung. For more than a year Chen Li-fu was reported "on the way out." But as to the stir created in America against Minister Chen last year, I found much of the criticism unfair. It was based on a misunderstanding of his words and upon a lack of knowledge of the conditions to be met.

Chen Li-fu has been a special target of the Communists since the time of the Kuomintang-Communist break in 1927, when he was given the job of lecturing to win back the Communists to the Triple Demism of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his party. He had done a very creditable job of it among the students and even with several of the prominent Communists.

Talk about the "Soong family,"

you may remember, led eventually to the removal of T. V. Soong. He is again in power, and he is there as a move after the Stilwell misunderstanding to please the American administration which favored him. But you will find nothing like that criticism against Mao Tse-tung, or even against Stalin, in the Chinese Communist area. Those who tried it are in the party doghouse, like Comrade Wang Shih-wei.

There is far more sympathy being wasted on the Chinese people than they feel for themselves (politically, I mean, of course, and not the sympathy they so heartily deserve because of sufferings due to the war). The people of China do resent having their name used as a propaganda flare to bring them help which is beyond being merely questionable and which they decidedly do not want. Even the people directly under the Communists in their border region have not been won over to recognize their present rulers as anything more than "strangers" who have usurped the power in that territory. It was a Communist propaganda leader who used the expression in explaining to me why the local people would never arrange a marriage between one of their daughters and a member of one of the various Communist groups—although on a permanent farming project under General Wang Cheng there were 10,000 Red Army soldiers and only 400 women and girls.

There are solid reasons for the resentment the people of the Communist area feel toward the whole set-up. Those people are strictly regimented and subdued. There is no true democracy in the Communist-controlled border region, only complete organization from the top. Asking the people's opinion or vote is a mere formality. The "Program of administration" for the border region government" was prepared by the party and voted "unanimously." The eighteen members of the committee of the border region government—the central governing body which "unifies the executive, legislative, and judiciary"—were hand-picked by Mao Tse-tung and accepted en bloc.

The same is true of the nine members of the Standing Committee of the People's Political Assembly. The system of having one-third of the members Communists, one-third members of other political parties, and one-third with no party affiliation, is a farce as to the representation to which the Communist Party is entitled.

#### COMMUNIST SPY SYSTEM

There is already a thoroughly organized spy system established by the Communists, and there are four party schools training 10,000 more of these "cadres." A person cannot leave his residential locality without a written "road pass," good for the one occasion only. Arrests are made on mere suspicion by the Peace Preservation Bu-

reau and the persons are held without court trial until they confess. We were shown the court records, but when we asked to be taken to the Peace Preservation Bureau we were told there was "nothing there to see." A Chinese Catholic priest, arrested in Suiteh, was accused of having a gun. He couldn't confess, for he would have had to turn over a gun which he did not have. He was held in the custody of the Peace Preservation Bureau until he got sick and died.

"The most striking thing about the Communist-led areas of China," wrote one of the foreign correspondents, "is the extent to which they are mobilized for production and war. The present plight of Kuomintang China shows . . . she has not been able to achieve such mobilization." I am sorry that my friend did not see the factory run by the Bank of China where, with a personnel of only 800 (compared with more than 1,500,000 in the border region), more is produced in a few days than the whole Communist area produces in a year—all under model labor conditions, with most modern methods. And that is only one of many such factories. Donald Nelson has something to work on in Free China. After all, it is production figures that count, not the regimentation methods. The greatest production the world has ever known was attained in the United States without a National Service Act. Even Stalin gave it due credit at Teheran. And while on the

subject, I would like to ask the above-quoted correspondent what he did with his notes on the Foh Sing and Sung Sing Mills, a private enterprise in "Kuomintang China."

I assume I have been addressing fairminded persons, sincerely anxious to understand China and as sincerely interested in furthering the war effort. It is useless even to consider those who try to force the jumbled puzzle into the solution they desire. Let us all be fair. "There have been many mistakes on our side, and we must correct them," said Gen. Chen Cheng. The Communists on their side have admittedly abused their military power to kill or drive away Government officials and remnants of national forces found trying to carry on behind the enemy lines. On my recent visit to Hunan, I found confirmation of the report that Communist guerrillas had sneaked into a city behind the Japs near Changsha and killed the local magistrate in order to gain the leadership of the people. Communist forces once fought with and captured the governor of Kiangsu Province. They admitted this by releasing him after several protests had been made. Gen. Wang Cheng was bluntly honest in his admission to us of usurping the political power of Ho Shao-nan, special district commissioner of Suiteh. He admitted, "We marched in and found Commissioner Ho was bad, a bureaucrat. I drove him out, and I became the commissioner." Mr. Ho

was more fortunate than many other officials in meeting up with General Wang, by whom he was allowed to escape to enjoy the fruits of the excellent reputation he has always had in Free China.

In judging the Communists and the Central Government, it will be found that there is some glory to divide. There is room for both to work, separately, each in its present sphere. Within the framework of legitimate government there is a place for the present Communist political set-up of the border region as there is for their present guerrilla activity in the war. Within the present structure of the Chinese Government the Communist area of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia could easily be constituted a special district with its own special commissioner (Chuan Yuan). Such an official has powers that are almost unlimited in freedom to institute needed reforms, organize the people's militia, and even control the Regular Army forces in detached units. All this and more has been offered to the Communists by the Central Government, but with each reverse of the Government, the Communists' demands have been increased. Mao Tse-tung must be persuaded to accept such a set-up; Chairman Mao alone is the one to deal with. But "there's the rub." Maybe, as some people have remarked, Chairman Mao Tse-tung must wait for the green light from elsewhere before settling. The present situation is too

much to the advantage of the Communists.

But there should be no need for civil war. Each side would have its opportunity to advance the good of

China, with the ultimate test for both in the free, democratic choice of the people. It is all quite simple. The Chinese people wonder why we find it such a puzzle.



### *On Confession*

How many are the souls in distress, anxiety, or loneliness, whose one need is to find a being to whom they can pour out their feelings unheard by the world. Tell them they must; they cannot tell them to those whom they see every hour. They want to tell them and not to tell them; and they want to tell them, yet be as if they be not told; they wish to tell them to one who is strong enough to bear them, yet not too strong to despise them; they wish to tell them to one who can at once advise and can sympathize with them; they wish to relieve themselves of a load, to gain a solace, to receive the assurance that there is one who thinks of them, and one to whom in thought they can recur, to whom they can betake themselves, if necessary, from time to time, while they are in the world. How many Protestants' hearts would leap at the news of such a benefit putting aside all distinct ideas of a sacramental ordinance, or of a grant of pardon and the conveyance of grace.

If there is a heavenly idea in the Catholic Church, looking at it simply as an idea, surely, next after the Blessed Sacrament, Confession is such. And such is it ever found in fact—the very act of kneeling, the low and contrite voice, the sign of the Cross hanging, so to say, over the head bowed low, and the words of peace and blessing. O, what a soothing charm is there, which the world can neither give nor take away. O, what piercing heart-subduing tranquility, providing tears of joy, is poured almost substantially and physically upon the soul, the oil of gladness, as Scripture calls it, when the penitent at length rises, his God reconciled to him, his sins rolled away forever. This is Confession as it is in fact.—*Cardinal Newman.*

# *The Rude Shock of Conversion*

RAÏSSA MARITAIN

*Reprinted from ADVENTURES IN GRACE\**

BLESSED are those who die in the Lord, and at the very time grace has touched them and converted them to God. They will not accumulate the faults and errors which lie in wait on life's road for those who have received the rude shock of conversion, those to whom is suddenly given the superhuman precept to live "as not living." Was it not to the first Christians, all of whom were converts, that St. Paul said: "Know ye not, that as many of us as were baptized into Christ Jesus, we were baptized unto His death? We were buried therefore with Him through this baptism unto death . . ." (Rom. 6, 3).

Every Christian is essentially a "separated" being, separated from the world by the shroud of Christ's death; but for the convert, it is by a sudden blow—which tears apart his bonds with himself and with others—that he is separated from the world! In one instant, at the hour of grace, all values have been moved about for him. And he becomes a strange being in the eyes of his neighbor whom he loves or tries to love "as himself"—but who does not love or understand him, and looks with a surprise not unmingled with distrust upon this

bizarre inhabitant of a city infinitely removed from the roads known to this world. The world is without shame because it is animal, but the Christian must bend his efforts to becoming a spiritual man. The world respects greatness of quantity and strength, the spiritual man must glorify God through humility and poverty.

Eternity has descended upon a soul devoted until then to passing time; it has struck it like lightning. The Divine storm has laid waste our disorder, and charity has only begun to order within us our different loves.

The intention of the convert from then on hangs suspended to the immutable and eternal truth, perceived within the Faith, and the convert must now put to rights all the objects in a house made topsy-turvy by the invasion of grace; what is passing must be reconciled with what remains forever, we must live at the same time according to the eternal and according to the temporal—the disproportion is infinite. How can we adjust our activities between these two extremes?

While still rapt in the vision of spiritual things, we are again set down on the earth, and we go stumbling forward. We fall; we err in our judg-

\* Longmans, Green and Co., New York. 1945

ments, we are unjust, are partial with a Divine partiality—with an all too human clumsiness.

An equilibrium must be established, our vision of worldly things must become clear again; but this must not happen too quickly, it must not come about at the expense of the spiritual reality known through faith. We must—but this is exactly what we do not realize until later—we must make this landing gently and without bumps, so that little by little the most humble things of everyday life are assumed into the spiritual vision—things, people, the works of men. Little by little we shall become accustomed to the light and learn to judge with equity.

#### MUST BEND THE WILL

This adaptation is difficult; God must help us and we must help God. He will work all the good in us; and we shall have to let Him act if we are to avoid evil, and to do with Him what little good we shall not have prevented.

God arranges the events that touch us, which are independent of our will, and which unfold themselves in time. He acts also upon our will, from within, because He is more intimate with us than we ourselves, and because He is the author of our free will.

The Saints respond to His action with perfect abandonment, absolute confidence, with that gentleness and humility which make every deed righteous and wise.

But he who has only just been born to the life of grace—the poor convert—begins his spiritual life as the child begins his natural life: he is at once supplied with and bereft of everything. Life is present and that is *all*, essentially speaking; but experience is lacking, except that experience outside of time which faith has given him. Wisdom which orders everything with the order of love is present only potentially; and perfection is but a far-off goal, desired but not yet reached.

Difficulties then arise, on account of our wills which have not yet learned to bend before the demands of grace, and on account of the disproportion existing between the light of the régime of grace and that of the régime of reason. They are not opposed—they are only separated by the infinite distance of natural life from supernatural life.

The convert learns only little by little to know his real powers. He may begin by framing purposes out of all proportion to his real capacity. A holy and learned guide is necessary to him (and more learned than holy, says Teresa of Avila). This guide, if one is so fortunate as to find him, will judge of the solidity and resistance of one's soul; will prevent activity inspired more by presumption than heroism, and will moderate it to avoid the collapse of a physical and moral energy insufficient to nourish great but premature desires.



But for a long time still, while progressing toward that interior equilibrium which is given by God, the soul of the convert—making its way among the vicissitudes of nature and the adventures of grace, held by the invisible hand of Another who leads it there where it does not will to go—will make of itself for ill-adjusted activity: for too much boldness or

timidity, too much pity or too much hardness; it will wound itself all over, until it finally perceives the true measure which is self-dispossession and freedom. And blessed be those wounds that are made by the pricks of Christ in poor Adam's flesh, and are of greater worth for our own spiritual welfare than the false peace of the world and self-satisfaction.



### *Challenge to Women*

With the thoughts of return to Christian principles, restoration of peace and preservation of the United States of America dominant in our mind, we wish to say here that these things just cannot happen unless the women of America want them. Men will always be just as good as women want them to be. Too many women, ignoring the heinousness of sin, have degraded womanhood. Virtue, modesty, fidelity and maternal duty they have simply dismissed as "old-fashioned." Even high-school girls must have their "sweeties"; with their "allowance" they frequent places of amusement to which their father would not dream of inviting their mother. For many young women, courtship is a time for lustful liberties, whereas it should be a time of lovable companionship during which two hearts and minds approach a mutual understanding of each other and of everything else. Many married women have not the slightest conception of the seriousness and sanctity of the married state or of the solemn duty and privilege of motherhood. But this is to be expected. Where there is lust before Marriage, there is bound to be lust afterwards. The Sacrament of Matrimony does not miraculously turn lust into love. If American women are going to continue in these evil ways, then our dreams of peace will never be realized. Woman must return to the ways of the Virgin Mother of Bethlehem and of the mothers who cradled America.—*Monsignor Joseph F. Flannelly, in ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL BULLETIN, New York, N. Y., July, 1945.*

# *Labor in the Postwar World*

BENJAMIN L. MASSE, S.J.

*A Sermon given at a Labor Day Memorial Mass, St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, N. Y., September 3, 1945*

IT IS eminently fitting that we have come here this morning to sanctify Labor Day by offering together the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. It is fitting that on this day dedicated to the working men and women of America, organized labor should go to the Divine Carpenter of Nazareth for courage and inspiration to continue its gallant struggle for social justice; that it should kneel, so to speak, at His feet and there learn those great truths of human dignity and brotherly solidarity which are the heart and soul of the labor movement.

Our Blessed Lord knew what it meant to earn His daily bread in the sweat of His brow. He knew how it felt to come home at night dead tired, and to turn out in the morning, still tired, to begin another day's work. He knew poverty and insecurity, and all the other crosses which workers frequently bear. If there is one place, therefore, in all the world where workers can expect sympathy and understanding, it is in the Church of Jesus Christ.

It is not necessary, then, to say that you are welcome here. Long before there was a Railway Labor Act, almost half a century before the Congress of the United States passed the

National Labor Relations Act, Pope Leo XIII thundered from the Vatican that workers had a God-given right to organize freely for the purpose of collective bargaining, and he called upon management to respect that right, and upon the heads of States to guarantee and protect it.

Since that time other Popes have written in defense of labor, and their words have been echoed and developed and applied by Bishops and priests all over the world. Those of you who live in this Archdiocese and know what has been done here, and is being done, to secure justice for working men and working women do not have to be reminded of this. The Church's solicitude for labor has, indeed, been so pronounced that She is sometimes accused of being pro-labor, of taking sides in that incessant struggle between workers and employers which has been the curse of the modern industrial system. If there is any truth in this charge, it lies in the fact that the Church stands, and must stand, for justice; and standing for justice, She has had, on many occasions, to defend the cause of the workers, since they, more often than employers, have been the victims of criminal injustice.

The Church has no desire to deepen

the discords in modern society; She does not wish to stir the witches' brew of class warfare. The Church was founded to save the souls of all men, rich and poor, not by preaching hatred, but through love of Him who died for all of us on the Cross. The Church wants labor and management to work together in harmony and mutual respect, for their own good and for the good of society, but She knows that this will never happen so long as the working class is denied its just place in the modern industrial system. In striving to elevate the position of workers, to win for them a fair share of the products they make and distribute, to vindicate their sacred rights, the Church is not promoting social discord; rather is She preparing the way for an economic order more in accord with Christian ideals than is the present one.

#### INTEGRAL PEACE

We are living today in very critical times, a period in which the possibilities for good and evil are enormous, and are equally great. There is abroad in the world a burning hope that the suffering of this war—the breaking of hearts and of homes, the ruinous destruction and the copious spilling of blood—will not have been in vain. A few weeks ago, even while the war still raged, our country ratified a charter designed to preserve peace among nations. We all pray that despite its imperfections the United

Nations Charter will be truly a new Magna Carta, a promise of freedom from fear and war.

But we cannot stop here. There will never be peace *among* nations until there is also peace *within* nations. "International equilibrium and harmony," said our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, in his splendid address on Christmas Eve, 1942, "depend on the internal equilibrium and development of the individual States in the material, social and intellectual sphere." And he continued: "It is only, then, by striving for an integral peace, a peace in both fields, that people will be freed from the cruel nightmare of war."

One wonders sometimes whether we are preparing for this "integral peace"; whether, that is to say, we are putting forth the same intense effort to assure domestic peace in the postwar world that we are devoting to international peace. Some close observers of the industrial scene in the United States are freely predicting a wave of strikes and lockouts after the war that will exceed in extent and bitterness anything we have experienced before. Certainly there is today a great deal of unrest among workers, unrest born partly, perhaps, of fatigue, but mostly of fear—fear of a further rise in living costs, fear of cutbacks, fear of a reduction in earnings through loss of overtime, fear of unemployment and the return of breadlines. There is a feeling, also, that in too many cases

management has taken advantage of labor's no-strike pledge, and by refusing to settle grievances has goaded the workers into unpopular strikes.

On the other hand, management is persuaded that it is the workers who have taken advantage of the war emergency and have forced concessions which would never have been granted in normal times. These concessions some employers are determined to revoke the minute the war is over, even if this should lead to serious trouble.

This situation ought to be a cause of grave concern to all of us. We ought to realize that we cannot permit a period of industrial strife after the war and at the same time hope to enjoy the blessed fruits of peace. Unless, therefore, we wish to betray the aspirations of a war-weary people, we must give to this problem now the calm, serious deliberation it deserves.

There are today two paths open to the American people, one calculated to lead to domestic peace and cooperation among the economic groups in our society; the other, to industrial warfare and civil strife. Let us call these two paths the *way of affirmation* and the *way of denial*.

The way of denial is based on the belief that the gains which organized labor has made for itself, and for all workers, during the past decade must be checked, and even whittled down. There are even a few who, in order to accomplish this objective, would be willing to set the returning veterans

against the unions, and thus raise a barrier of enmity and distrust between soldiers and civilians. Obviously, this is not the path to a sound and prosperous social order. It is a formula for class hatred and warfare.

The way of affirmation, on the other hand, is grounded on the conviction that the gains of labor must be consolidated and expanded in the postwar era. It believes that the workers of America, through their trade unions, must be given a new and creative role in trade and industry. It looks forward to the time when the wage contract will be perfected by some form of partnership, when workers will be given a share in profits, in management and in ownership, when, in a word, workers will have the same incentive to produce and the same sense of their dignity and importance in the economic system which management now enjoys and which we like to believe are a part of our American heritage. This new condition of workers will not be an overnight development, but it should be the goal toward which we constantly strive. It is a goal that commends itself equally to our Christian and democratic conscience, and to our economic good sense. It is a goal which will help us to make certain that this war, unlike the last one, has not been fought in vain.

On this Labor Day, 1945, it is impossible to say which path, the path of affirmation or the path of denial, this

nation will follow. That decision rests with employers, with the government, with the general public. But it rests with the workers themselves, too. Our trade unions have made a great contribution to this country, in peace and in war, but, like all institutions, they are human and have their imperfections. These imperfections, it is true, have been vastly exaggerated, as the reams of publicity on wartime strikes testify. It might come as a great surprise to many otherwise well-informed persons to know that the hours voluntarily worked on a single holiday—the last Fourth of July—more than made up for all the time lost through strikes since Pearl Harbor. Sin, it appears, is much more newsworthy than virtue.

#### REMOVE IMPERFECTIONS

However, even when allowance has been made for exaggeration, it remains unfortunately true that organized labor has a good deal of soiled wash to hang on the line. It is the duty of workers to remove these imperfections: to drive from positions of power those leaders who, by reason of their dishonesty or their disloyalty to our country, have proved unfaithful to their trust; to abolish all those racial and religious discriminations which are at once a betrayal of democracy and a denial of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. In no other way can labor convince the American public that it is worthy

of a new and higher responsibility. In no other way can it maintain its self-respect.

Labor Day, then, should be a day of dedication. It should be a day when workers consecrate their unions anew to the noble ideals which witnessed their birth. Conceived in a holy desire to stop the exploitation of workers in modern industry, unions were early consecrated to justice in a spirit of brotherly love. The day the unions lose their thirst for justice and their sense of brotherhood, the day they become as cold and mercenary as some of our corporations, they will have lost their souls. They will wither and die. It is the right and duty of the Church to remind them of this; to teach the solid principles of true moral conduct; to hold up before them the example of Jesus Christ Who, by His own life and work, dignified the lives of all workers.

Now as the Mass continues, let us pray that God may bless the labor movement of this country; that He may inspire its leaders and its members with noble, generous ideals; that such evils as afflict it from within may be removed, and that the short-sighted and selfish enemies that attack it from without may be confounded; that it may bring to the working people of this country that material well-being which, as Pope Pius XI said, is not a hindrance but an aid to the salvation of their immortal souls.

Let us pray, finally, for a new era

in industry, an era in which labor and management, inspired by religious motives, will build together an economic order founded on social justice and love for their fellowmen, an economic order that will respect the dignity of the individual and the sanctity of

family life, an economic order, in short, that will reflect our sacred belief in God and our determination to make the Spirit of Christ supreme everywhere in the world, including the market-place. Then, and then only, shall our hearts be at peace.



### *Labor Day Message to Unions*

Well, indeed, may the members rejoice in the splendid record they have earned during the tragic years of world conflict. While the sons and daughters of laboring men distinguished themselves in the front lines and on the home defenses, their fathers stood valiantly at their posts to produce the sinews of war. Like every one of genuine worth, they stand secure on their own achievements, and merit the undying gratitude of many nations.

May the Holy Spirit of wisdom and understanding enfold both management and worker with an abundance of Divine Grace and guide them safely through the years of reconstruction.—*Most Rev. Charles F. Buddy, Bishop of San Diego.*

### *Freedom from Want*

Two-thirds of the people on earth have never enough to eat—though two-thirds work at producing food. About 75 percent of the people of Asia and 30 percent in advanced industrial countries live on a diet below a minimum standard of health. In some countries 200 out of every 1,000 babies born die during the first year. Approximately 50 percent of the adults of the world are unable to read or write. The majority of the factory workers in the world, including women and children, endure sweatshop conditions at substandard wages.—MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW, June, 1945.

## THE EDITORIAL MIND

### ***A Methodist Bishop and South America***

A METHODIST bishop has recently returned from a 20,000-mile tour of Central and South America. His comments will help to dispel some of the calumnies told about the discrimination against non-Catholic missionaries in those countries.

Declaring that he had been informed of antagonism toward Roman Catholic as well as Protestant foreign missionaries, Bishop Ivan Lee Holt of the St. Louis area said he had received cordial treatment everywhere. In some towns he was greeted officially by committees headed by the mayor.

"In every country," he said, "there is a constitutional guarantee of religious liberty, though the attitude of some governments in Latin America is more friendly than others to Protestants."

He reported that Methodist work was established in eleven Latin countries: Puerto Rico, Cuba, Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama and

Brazil where the Methodist church is strongest with 20,000 members.

Bishop Holt stated that the 40-year-old Methodist educational program in South American countries is prospering in countries where schools are established. Fourteen schools in Brazil, four in Peru, three in Argentina, two in Bolivia and one each in Paraguay and Panama have an enrollment of 20,000 students.

These facts are in sharp contrast with some general and universal statements made by some bigoted non-Catholics about the treatment of Protestant missionaries in our neighboring countries to the south.—CATHOLIC HERALD CITIZEN, *Milwaukee, Wisc.*, June 30, 1945.

### ***Race Prejudice and Peace***

THE appeals of Senators Connally and Vandenberg for our participation in an international organization designed to preserve fundamental freedoms for the peoples of the world, without regard to racial or religious differences, came as passing interruptions of a prolonged filibuster aimed at wrecking the Fair Employment Practice Committee. Ironically, the leader of the filibuster,



Senator Bilbo, of Mississippi, energetically assisted by Senator Eastland from the same State, expounded the doctrine of white supremacy with a fervor that would have done credit to the most intolerant Teutonic exponents of the master-race theory. To Messrs. Bilbo and Eastland, the Negro is the chief racial menace who must be kept in his foreordained lowly place, although in course of debate, hatred and contempt for other racial minorities were expressed by implication.

If this particular filibuster could be regarded as a last-ditch fight by a few wilful men, it would appear annoying rather than serious. There have been filibusters of the one-man type in the past, which have held up important legislation. But on this occasion Messrs. Bilbo and Eastland were evidently buoyed up by words of encouragement from various reactionary groups throughout the country that lose no opportunity to fan the fires of racial hatred for their own selfish purposes. It was also disillusioning, following collapse of the filibuster, to find a large bloc of Southern Senators voting solidly against the compromise proposal to grant FEPC a limited appropriation. The subsequent blocking of even this limited appropriation in the House is further proof that Senators Bilbo and Eastland are not fighting a lone battle against the forces of enlightenment which are striving to make democracy

mean a fair deal for every man, regardless of race, color, or religion.

Men who achieve the distinction of representing their States and communities in the Congress of the United States are usually keen judges of public opinion. They seldom arrive there, nor do they remain long, if their speeches and their votes fail to reflect the innermost convictions of their constituents. The Senators from Mississippi would hardly dare to voice so unrestrainedly their intolerance of the Negro in public life and to defame Negroes who wear their country's uniform if they did not feel sure that such sentiments would cost them few votes at home and do little to impair their standing among their colleagues. We think the size and markedly regional character of the negative vote on the compromise FEPC measure supports the belief that this country, in the person of its chosen representatives, is sadly tarred with the brush of racial intolerance.

If the representatives of any of those foreign nations now looking to us for leadership in launching an international organization to make the world safe for democracy by chance leaf through the *Congressional Records* of the past week, they will find much to puzzle and distress them. As for us, we can only hope that threats to the ideals we profess to believe in will be overcome by the force of an enlightened majority opinion. The fact that FEPC is being so bitterly

opposed is proof that it has made progress in the fight to secure a fair economic deal for Negroes and other racial minority groups. Senator Vandenberg pointed out, in speaking of the United Nations Charter, that the threatened postwar disintegration of ideals of human behavior makes it all the more necessary to try to stem the "evil tides of opinion." That holds true not only in respect of our international relations but as regards our domestic affairs as well.—*The WASHINGTON POST, Washington, D. C., July 3, 1945.*

### *The Atomic Bomb*

IT IS no easy task to comment on the most bewildering happening of the week, the employment for the first time of the "atomic bomb," a more hideous weapon of destruction than ever haunted the dreams of a madman. To what horrifying climax has our vaunted Science come? "Thousands, perhaps millions of Americans," says the *Boston Traveler* in an exceedingly able editorial, "are more thoughtful than exultant over the prospect that atom-smashing will smash Japan."

War, at best, is a bad business. Its atrocities and calamities offer daily proof that there is an Evil One, never tiring, never sleeping, constantly at work for the ruin of men's souls. But all right-thinking persons, even as they bow to the inevitable in human

affairs, cling resolutely to principles and honor. There is not one morality in times of peace and another morality, or none at all, in times of war.

The morality of war cannot overlook the existence of helpless non-combatants. Voiceless peoples cannot be ruthlessly victimized for the sins of their leaders. Every code insists upon a quasi-equality between a man and his adversary. No war can be held justified whose methods inevitably and necessarily lead to the perpetuation of hates among human beings.

The assertion that the enemy would have used this new invention first if they had had it is apart from the point. With all the bad things we say about the Japanese, certainly Americans are not looking to them for inspiration in a question of the decencies. The sorry reality is that either side should use it.

The advances of science are intended for the betterment of human living. All the extraordinary virtues claimed for the split atom on Monday and half-denied on Tuesday, scarcely atone for the original sin of mass destruction with which this monstrous force was ushered into the world.

Mr. Baldwin, a military commentator for the *New York Times*, writes as follows: "We have sowed the whirlwind and we may yet reap the whirlwind. We have been the first to introduce a new weapon of unknowable effects which may bring us victory quickly but which will sow the

seeds of hate more widely than ever."  
—*The PILOT, Boston, Mass., August 11, 1945.*

### Comics

**D**UTIFUL parents are becoming more and more concerned over the so-called comics.

They rival the movies in popularity. A survey conducted in the schools of Gary, Ind., showed that in one week 696 grade school pupils had read 915 books but 2,370 comic magazines. One in three had read nothing but comics. It is estimated that 75 percent of leisure-time reading of children in the 9-14 age group is spent on 125 different comic magazines, and 180,000,000 of these are sold a year!

Not all comics are objectionable. Those with "kid appeal," mostly animal comics, and some that appeal to adults and deal with everyday home situations, are not harmful and afford innocent amusement.

This cannot be said of numerous adventure comic magazines and newspaper strips. Enlightening in this regard is an exhaustive analysis made of 92 comic books and more than 1,000 newspaper strips by Gabriel Lynn and reported in his booklet, *The Case Against the Comics*, published by the Catechetical Guild of St. Paul, Minn.

In the publications studied, 522 separate physical assaults against human beings were depicted in horrifying detail and in a manner tending to glorify brute force. There were shown 216 major crimes, 309 minor crimes and 271 examples of anti-social behavior.

Is it any wonder that Judge Charles W. Luck, of Chattanooga, Tenn., during a hearing on parole petitions, denounced comics as a primary cause of crime? He said: "I am fully convinced that some of these strips based on disreputable, well-nigh criminal acts, are responsible for creating ideas in the minds of children."

Many comics also include suggestive "art" which is a menace to chastity. Scantily-clad females are shown in seductive postures and sex features are emphasized.

Obviously parents have a duty with regard to comics which hold such a fascination for children. A responsible father and mother would not let their boy or girl eat poisonous food. They would not even permit them to bring it into the house. Should they not be equally careful concerning reading matter and pictures which can corrupt the minds of children and start them on the road to delinquency? —*The MICHIGAN CATHOLIC, Detroit, Mich., June 21, 1945.*

# *Training the Emotions*

THE REV. V. GIMINEZ, S.J.

*Reprinted from The EXAMINER\**

THE end of education should be an all-round development of man physically, intellectually and affectively: of the body, the intellect and the heart: of health, knowledge and uprightness. This trilogy, properly developed from the beginning, will make a perfect, well-educated man.

Of these three qualities the most important, no doubt, is uprightness, the education of the heart. For of what use is to man a very healthy body and a well trained intellect if, after all, he has a corrupt heart, the heart of a criminal? And, on the contrary, if he possesses poor health and little knowledge, but has an upright noble heart, this quality alone will make him loved and respected by all.

The heart was considered by old philosophers to be the center of the affections, and though modern psychologists inform us that the seat of our psychical life is not the heart but the nerve-centers, nevertheless it is a well-attested fact that there is some close connection between the heart and our emotions. Sorrowful emotions slow down the beating of the heart, and this slowing down is betrayed by the blanching of the cheeks; while joyful emotions, on the contrary, quicken its pulsations and the blood

flows more abundantly. These common experiences are recorded in all languages by the expressions "a broken heart," and "a light heart," and people go so far as to attribute moral qualities to the heart when they say: "He has a good heart or a bad heart." The education of the heart, then, means the training and control of our emotions and sentiments.

Emotions, psychologically, are certain organic modifications, produced by certain natural appetites implanted in nature by God, its Author, for its proper development, and directed towards some particular object.

They are common to men and animals, but with this difference, that while they never come in conflict with the nature of the animal, directed as it is by instinct alone, they may come in conflict with the rational nature of man: for man's rational nature is directed by a will that is free, and can therefore deflect the emotions from their right course as established by God.

An animal cannot help being what it is. Man can shape himself to be what he wishes to be, an angel or a devil. Man is free. It is this freedom that makes man responsible for his actions.

\* Bombay, India

Emotions, being spontaneous appetites, rise in man independently of him; they precede any decision of the free will and lessen its power of free choice and of action in a fully responsible or moral way. They behave as strong ocean waves do when they are suddenly excited by the powerful wind of the appetites. Reason finds itself submerged under them, before it is aware. They resist the reason, and even after the self-asserting struggle of the will, they remain restless like the waves after the storm.

When the force excited by the emotion passes through the ganglia and turns, by a short circuit, without reaching the brain, the whole action is spontaneously performed without the intervention of consciousness. But if from the ganglia it is switched to the brain and thus to the mind, then it becomes conscious, and the action falls under the control of the will.

#### EDUCATION OF THE HEART

We are conscious of having real power over our passions. We may control them *indirectly* by diverting the soul's activity, through change of thought, by applying the will to other objects, or by causing other passions or conjuring up in the imagination some appropriate object; and we can also act on them *directly*, when the will strenuously represses the excited emotion or strengthens it, in various ways.

This exercise of control over our

emotions, allowing us to make of them instruments of good instead of instruments of destruction, is what constitutes the training of the emotions or the education of the heart.

The *first* way of training the capricious children that our appetites are, is by the use of direct restraint so that our wild spontaneous emotions are prevented from growing stronger.

The *second* way would be the instilling and cultivation of those good sentiments which are in conformity with the rational law of nature and which may ennoble the heart and facilitate the performance of duty.

The *third* should be the acquisition of solid principles of uprightness that may support the effort of the will.

The *fourth* will be the use of the exterior means of discipline and good example to exercise and confirm the good resolutions.

And *finally*, as a complement of all these, would come the formal instruction of morality in order to open new horizons and harmonize the different emotions and sentiments of the heart into an all-embracing and reasoned unity called the ideal.

The first of these ways should be used as a negative method. "Prevention is better than cure," it is said, and so it should be with the first wrong impulses of nature as soon as they appear. They should be strongly kept under control of self-restraint and even by exterior repression, if necessary, lest they gain in force and

intensity by repetition and become unmanageable.

Our second way will be positive training of the passions, smoothing the obstacles raised by them and acquiring convenient moral sentiments.

The efforts of the will, strengthened by solid motives proposed by the intellect, may so well succeed in taming and transforming the wild emotions of the heart, as to turn unbearable tyrants into the most humble servants of the law.

It is here that good habits come to facilitate the work of the will. The will, if it is to be prompt to work, needs a certain smoothness and facility in action, which can only be obtained by creating good interior habits. These habits, or deeply rooted sentiments, cannot be built suddenly but are the fruit of many particular emotional experiences and activities that form certain permanent dispositions in the heart, which in turn make it pleasurable and easy to exert a control that otherwise would be arduous or impossible.

In the third place, the intellect should come to the help of the will by offering it good motives of action, propounding sound intellectual principles that are the natural basis of uprightness. Every act of the will is necessarily accompanied by another act of the intellect. So the exercise of liberty involves always two acts: one, a judgment of the intellect presenting the alternatives of the object

in the light of general ideas of conduct, called principles; another, a desire of the will which, though absolute in its power of saying "yes or no," demands always some motive or reason before it can decide.

#### EXTERIOR DISCIPLINE

In order properly to direct the will and the heart, the intellect should be well equipped with the main habits necessary for action, namely: with *prudence* in order to find the right means to the right end; with *motives* for *temperance* and *fortitude* in order to rule the appetites and emotions; with *principles* of *justice* and *charity*, to direct the will and the heart in social life.

All this requires, on the part of the intellect, an early and serious study of these principles, till it assimilates them. Thus only will they be able to become lasting rules of life.

We should confess that we spend many years in our schools teaching principles of language, geography, science and anything that may be useful to the boy in after life, but neglect, perhaps to a great extent, the education of the heart. We teach many principles, but are we paying sufficient attention to those that will make men of character, who can be trusted in any position they may occupy?

It is true that moral instruction is instilled in all schools by discipline, example, an occasional conversation or talks, which is the fourth way we pro-

posed, but these constitute mainly exterior and informal education.

Exterior discipline gives a certain tone of dignity to the school that, no doubt, influences the training of the student; and though only self-discipline is real discipline, nevertheless, exterior order founded on reasonableness and utility cannot but help the heart in forming good habits of order and obedience.

Example exercises still greater influence upon the heart than discipline. Children by instinct try to imitate, especially their elders, as may be well observed in their games; boys like to play the part of brigands, soldiers, generals or doctors, and girls love to pose as cooks, nurses, mothers, or parlor-ladies. When they notice anyone doing something, they at once want to try the action themselves. If the action be pleasurable, their attention is thereby drawn to perform it for the sake of pleasure; if it is unpleasant, they will not be drawn to try because of its ascertained painfulness.

We must realize the extraordinary influence that the good or bad example of those around the boy may exert on his character, and the great importance of the good or bad companions the boy may have in the school. The personality of the master, on account of his superior authoritative position, may, more than anything else, influence the aspirations of the boy. When the master is what he should be, a

model of honesty and uprightness, he will make the boy realize that a noble life of virtue is really possible and worth living.

The sight of every good or bad example that a boy sees, especially in his early years, leaves in the young heart an impression hardly to be erased.

But the best way of fixing the great principles of life in the mind and heart of the boy is gradually trained, serious reflection and a formal study of moral science. Indirect study, by discipline and example, or even by giving informal instruction, is not enough to engrave the all-important principles of life deep in the mind. If true education is to be self-education, these principles should be assimilated by the heart, so as to form a second nature with it. It is not a study whose object is to pass a year's examination but one whose purpose in a life's examination.

The heart should learn how to make sweet what is bitter in good conduct by finding suitable motives for action in the thought of honest and honorable rewards and in the satisfaction of duty fulfilled after an arduous deed; in the peace of conscience, in the good pleasure of God whose approval it seeks. It should learn how to sublimate the primary tendencies of the heart, turning fear into caution and love of the sublime; lust into true love and art; self-assertion into self-respect; inferiority feelings into respect and admiration; anger into cour-



age, and curiosity into scientific endeavor.

But, above all, what the heart most needs is to find ideals that may give inspiration to its life and that may carry it victorious through all the difficulties and obstacles it may encounter.

The ideal is not likely to be found in books on Grammar, Mathematics or Geography. History and Literature may put before the mind and the heart great men that have immortalized their names. But in the lives of many famous men there are to be found good and bad ideals, ideals which appear great exteriorly while the men themselves are no better than whitened sepulchers; ideals of hedonism dressed as love of humanity; ideals of vanity and ambition under the cloak of charity and protection; tyrannical ideas of arbitrary duty posing as justice and law.

It is true there are also great and noble ideals of uprightness, of goodness and generosity; ideals of men that sacrificed their all for the sake of others, for science, for their country or for the sake of God. But how is the young inexperienced hearer going to discover the right ideals without being carried away by error or passion?

In order to make the proper selection so that it should not allow itself to go by likes and dislikes, the heart needs reflection and knowledge of the real values in life. It should know how to distinguish between appearances and realities, between tinsel and

gold, vice and virtue, error and truth. And the proper ideal once selected, the heart should have strength sufficient to stand firm by it, as a rock in the midst of the ocean of strong temptations, with the eyes of the soul fixed on the pleasure of that supreme ideal of personal harmony, God, Whose approval alone he seeks. This cannot be done properly without a serious study of the principles of morality.

#### MORAL PRINCIPLES

It has been a puzzle for many old and modern philosophers to find the source from which the heart draws the strength necessary to stand firm against the forces of nature.

William James calls that force X. The ideal impulse, he says, is weaker than the instinctive force, and the ideal impulse plus X is stronger than the instinctive propensity. What is, he asks, the nature of that X which is able to turn the scale of the moral conflict in favor of the ideal impulse of morality?

Already Plato and some old philosophers, looking for that X, said it was Divine Reason, sitting in the head of man, controlling fierce passions that reside in the belly, as a charioteer controls with whip and rein a team of savage steeds.

But that mysterious X is not Divine Reason sitting in the head, for reason is only a directive not an executive faculty, but it is certainly Divine Force sitting in the heart of

man supporting the "fiat" of the will by the effect of well assimilated moral principles of uprightness.

We see, then, the great importance of the study of those principles which, in the dark hours, when powerful emotions obscure the intellect and deceitful sirens carry away our hearts, may, like a brilliant beacon, direct our will to find the sure haven of peace and happiness.

They will prove to be the most powerful weapons to fight and conquer in the battle of life. They will create strong generations of hearts

that will stand firm at their post when everything crumbles around them. These are the hearts that the world needs. Pure, heroic hearts full of courage and love, full of noble ideals of true glory and happiness; upright hearts able to create the greater and better world that suffering humanity desires from the depths of its soul.

Such are the steeled hearts our schools may turn out of the crucible of moral science if they seriously undertake the education of the heart to the glory of God, good of country and praise of the Alma Mater.



### *Another View*

The "United Nations' Charter" is by no means a perfect document, but at least it is a beginning. The Australian delegation wrung the utmost in the way of concessions from the cold realism of the "Big Five." The final Australian victory was the right of the Assembly to *discuss* questions freely, even though all important decisions will still depend on the united will of the Great Powers. Such as it is, it represents a triumph over the will of Russia to stifle all free discussion and render the whole peace organization a mere sounding board to echo the dictates of the strong. At least, the protests of the lesser states can now be heard, and, in the long term, this may prove a most effective means of guiding world public opinion in the interests of peace and justice. In obtaining this and other important amendments, Australia has won a greater reputation than she has ever previously enjoyed in the field of international affairs.—*The ADVOCATE, Melbourne, Australia, June 27, 1945.*

## *Pius XII to the Semaines Sociales*

RADIO, N.C.W.C. NEWS SERVICE

**V**ATICAN CITY, Aug. 2.—Declaring the reconstruction of the world to be faced with grave dangers from atheistic and anti-Christian ideas, His Holiness Pope Pius XII sees in social work and in those who labor for greater social justice the harbingers and the leaders of that Catholic and social action from which will arise "the good architects of the new edifice."

This message is contained in a letter the Holy Father has addressed to Charles Flory, President of the Semaines Sociales (Social Weeks) in France, to mark the postwar resumption of this famous organization.

Emphasizing the importance of the topics selected for discussion, and rejoicing in the resumption of the work, Pope Pius tells President Flory that "it is only too true, as you say, that in France, as in all other countries, postwar circumstances have caused to arise with a special urgency many needs and aspirations whose legitimate nature cannot be denied."

His Holiness says he has always felt, even during the hostilities between the warring nations and their leaders, that, after such upheavals, there would have to be built "a new social and economic order which would become more adequate both to Divine laws and to human dignity." Such a

new order, the Holy Father declares, must unite "the requisites of true equality and Christian principles in a closer relationship, the only guarantee of the salvation, welfare and peace of all."

"These are formidable and complex problems which our radio addresses and messages have taken up on several occasions in order to indicate the spirit in which they are to be met and the direction according to which they are to be solved," the Holy Father continues. "And, indeed, after so many years of such intense suffering, agony and misery, how could it rightfully be otherwise than that men should look forward to a radical betterment in their living standards?"

"From this expectation arise problems of reconstruction for the laboring classes, plans for structural reform, and ideas concerning property and enterprise which at times are conceived passionately, precipitately and confusedly as regards doctrinal content. But they will have to be faced with the inescapable norms of reason and of Faith, which, according to its duty, the teaching of the Church must define.

"Only thus will the human person, too often oppressed, be able to regain his complete dignity in the fulfillment of his obligations, without, however, shirking his fundamental responsi-

bility of giving a just share to all who have the right to it, wherever they may be, and of respecting the demands of justice in whatever circumstances they may be met.

"It is, therefore, in the last analysis, as you have very well inserted as the title to your program, that all must tend and converge towards the liberation of the human personality."



### *Pope Warned in 1943 of Atomic Bomb*

Since atoms are extremely small it was not thought seriously that they might also acquire practical importance. Today instead such a question has taken an unexpected form following the results of artificial radio activity. It was, in fact, established that in the disintegration which the atom of uranium undergoes when bombarded by neutrons that two or three neutrons are freed, each launching itself—one being able to meet and smash another uranium atom.

From special calculation it has been ascertained that in such a way [neutron bombardment causing a breakdown in the uranium atom] in one cubic meter of oxide power of uranium, in less than one-hundredth of a second, there develops enough energy to elevate more than sixteen miles a weight of a billion tons; a sum of energy which could substitute for many years the action of all the great power plants of the world.

Above all, therefore, it should be of utmost importance that the energy originated by such a machine should not be let loose to explode—but a way found to control such power with suitable chemical means. Otherwise there could result not only in a single place but also for our entire planet a dangerous catastrophe.—*Pope Pius XII at the opening session of the Pontifical Academy of Science, February 21, 1943.*

## Social Reform Today

Reprinted from THE NORTHWEST REVIEW\*

THE letter of Pius XII to the President of the *Semaines Sociales* (Social Weeks) of France may well be looked upon as the most important document of present times, on the subject of social reform. Two factors suggest this.

First of all, in commenting on the general urge for radical betterment of living standards, the Holy Father qualifies the trend as "rightful" and as "legitimate." The significance of these adjectives may be seen by comparison with the Pope's remarks, last Christmas, on the trend of democracy. At that time the Papal attitude limited itself to merely observing a phenomenon and examining its possibilities in the establishment of Christian order in the world. The tone of the present statement is definitely one of approbation. His Holiness, in fact, insists that today a new reason, that of suffering, agony, misery, endured for the cause of freedom, must be added to the more general motives for social reform set forth in previous Papal documents. "Rightfully" better living conditions are sought today, according to Pius XII. The movement towards social and economic reform is fundamentally right.

The second factor which endows the above-mentioned letter with spe-

cial importance is its timeliness. It comes at a moment when Catholic social influence stands in grave danger of being pushed into alliance with "vested interests" and other "reactionary" tendencies. Because, in France, the social-reform movement has been temporarily dominated by Communists, the Catholic body has been certainly tempted to set itself up in mere opposition to the entire tendency. Elsewhere, as in the United States and in Canada, the same inclination may be observed to look with suspicion on all social reform for the simple reason that Socialists and Communists seem to have captured the movement.

His Holiness, by his insistence on the rightfulness of the basic tendency at the present time, continues to repeat the lesson which he has been consistently preaching to timorous Catholics for the past six years: the contemporary world with its violent convulsions may appear as a period of great danger to Catholicism, as many of the lesser supports to which Catholicism had been allied are swept away, but at the same time, it is a period of great opportunity when the proper exercise of influence in the turmoil may result in the eventual evolution of a much more Christian world.

\* 619 McDermot Ave., Winnipeg, Man., Canada, August 9, 1945

The Faithful must, of course, as the Holy Father emphasizes, conceive of this movement in its proper place in the entire Christian philosophy of life, limited by the demands of justice, by the superiority of spiritual to material values, by the underlying thought of the present life as merely the vestibule for real life to come in a post-world world. Precisely because Christianity contains the only picture of complete happiness, a project contrary to Christian doctrine would be doomed to eventual failure.

#### ACTIVE PART FOR CATHOLICS

However, the password given to Catholics at the present juncture, when hesitation might appear preferable, is clearly, "*Duc in altum*," go ahead boldly, take an active part in the struggle for social betterment.

Perhaps His Holiness has seen that too many Catholics have not realized the social implications of their Faith and are merely Catholics in their personal lives, while as business men or as laborers they are in reality oppressors of their fellowmen, exclusively absorbed in the protection and extension of their privileged position in the world of economics. Perhaps he has seen how enslavement to party politics will prevent some Catholics, and, unfortunately, many who could exercise more beneficial influence, from judging impartially the social reforms championed by other groups. Perhaps the Holy Father has seen that, in their

excessive enthusiasm, some ardent advocates of Catholic social doctrine cling obstinately to grandiose objectives while less idealistic groups concentrate on less perfect, less universal but more immediate progress.

The Papal thought, all the more significant because addressed to Red-torn France, accentuates the affirmative, positive, forward-moving attitude in social reform, seeming to say: "It is better to commit a few sins in trying to do good than it is to abstain from action because of possible evil effects. Catholics must participate in the social betterment movement or resign themselves to insignificance in the eyes of the world, to their own and the world's detriment."

Pius XII's letter seems to contain a still more profound lesson. Although addressed to a Catholic organization for the study and implementation of Papal social doctrine, the general tone of the message would suggest that Catholic efforts be directed to the Christianizing of current movements principally, rather than to the promotion of an exclusively Catholic program, rooted in specifically Catholic principles.

The two points mentioned above: insistence on the fundamental goodness of the movement; and emphasis on the need for action at a time when radicalism seems to be setting the pace, clearly favor the indirect approach which concentrates on immediate results on this or that point rather than

on a vast and complex integrated program. Such conduct on the part of Catholics is possible wherever a legitimate tendency grips the popular mind, even when the possibilities of eventual anti-Christian evolution are great, because the modern non-Catholic mind does not necessarily pursue a logical course in reducing a principle to practise and because the unfolding of events not only brings new problems and dangers but also often elimi-

nates difficulties which seemed logically inevitable.

The concrete Catholic attitude towards social reform today, then, should be rather benevolent than critical, rather positive than obstructionist, rather concerned with the injection of Christian thought into current enterprises than with the attempt to work out an exclusively Catholic pattern for contemporary, largely pagan society.



### *Well Done, Canada!*

Canada is very near us geographically, and by the stronger bonds of a common culture. In some ways it is very far ahead of us. It realizes, by its latest social legislation, that the health and well-being of each Canadian family is a national investment.

The other day 1,250,000 checks, amounting to almost \$20,000,000, were mailed to mothers in every part of Canada. This is the first payment under the Family Allowances Act. Under this Act, every child in Canada will receive from birth until the age of sixteen, a total of \$1,180 as the nation's contribution to its health and welfare and education.

We are assured that there will be no "prying" into the spending of the family allowances. The Act provides against the misuse of the funds by careless parents.

We say, "Well done, Canada!" If tariffs and subsidies are necessary for the insurance of our economy, this is a legitimate national insurance for the preservation of the family, and family life is the most precious and the most important national asset. —*The LABOR LEADER, New York, N. Y., July 25, 1945.*



## Senate of the Church

J. SCHAEFER

*Reprinted from The LIGUORIAN\**

**I**NFALLIBILITY is not only a daring word, it is a daring doctrine. But much of the seeming audacity of the doctrine would appear to be but the wisdom of God, and much of misunderstanding and argumentation would be avoided, if our non-Catholic neighbors were to understand exactly what we mean by the doctrine of the "Infallibility of the Pope." We do not mean that the Pope can never commit a sin, nor that the Pope can never make an error in judgment, nor that he is exempt from error even in explaining the doctrines of our Faith. By infallibility we mean that, on those rare occasions when the Pope solemnly defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals which must be believed by all Catholics, Almighty God miraculously preserves him from falling into error.

The Holy Father enjoys a twofold teaching authority over the Church, one of which is called his "extraordinary" authority by which he solemnly defines matters of faith and morals for the whole Church, the other, his "ordinary" authority which he constantly exercises in teaching and explaining Catholic doctrine. In this latter capacity the Pope is liable to

error. And even in the use of his infallible teaching prerogative he is not freed from the obligation of using human prudence, of first consulting learned theologians as well as other official teachers of the Church. The external government of the Church, too, involves so many minute and difficult problems that it would be impossible for the Pope to govern properly without help and advice.

From the very first centuries of the Church's history, therefore, the Popes at times have summoned groups of Bishops, priests and other learned theologians to discuss with them problems involved in the doctrines and government of the Church. At first the number and individuals of these groups varied according to the circumstances of the Church at the time and the nature of the problems facing the Holy Father. But as the Church continued to grow and spread from nation to nation there arose a need for a permanent body of papal advisers. In this manner did the College of Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church come into existence. For centuries the Cardinals have been the official advisers of the Holy Father and for this reason are frequently

\* Box A. Oconomowoc, Wisc., July, 1945

referred to as the "Senate" of the Catholic Church.

#### HISTORY

The use of the word "Cardinal" is so ancient in the Church that scholars dispute as to the exact meaning and application given it in the early Church. The word is derived from a Latin word "cardo," meaning "a hinge." In early ecclesiastical language every cathedral church was referred to as a "cardo" or "hinge" because it was the residence of the Bishop upon whom the whole diocese depended. Hence it was that frequently every priest definitely assigned to a diocese was called a "cardinal." But the designation was given primarily to those clerics who were attached to the cathedral church itself and who, as a body, composed what is known today as the "cathedral chapters." The word, "cardinal," therefore, at a very early time took on the meaning of "principal" or "more eminent" priest, because it was the duty of the clerics assigned to the cathedral church to assist the Bishop in episcopal services and in the administration of the diocese.

Although many such clerics bore the title "cardinal," it was the formation of the Church at Rome and its surrounding districts which was the model for the present College of Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. Only in the year 1567, however, did

Pope Pius V forbid the use of the title to all save the Cardinals of the Roman Church. The Sacred College today is divided into three classes, Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests and Cardinal Deacons. And the exemplar of each class can be found in the organization of the early Church at Rome.

1. *Cardinal Priests:* As early as the 5th century, Pope St. Simplicius divided the city of Rome into four ecclesiastical districts. The number of the faithful had so grown that the Pope himself could no longer care for the spiritual needs of his diocese. Pope Simplicius, therefore, set aside twenty-eight churches of Rome, seven in each of the four districts, the principal or "titular" churches of each district being the patriarchal basilicas, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Lawrence and St. Mary Major. At these churches the Divine Services were performed and especially the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance were administered to the faithful of Rome. To each of the twenty-eight churches a "cardinal" was assigned. Each of the cardinals, in turn, performed the Divine Services at his "titular" church. In addition, the cardinal-priests held frequent meetings, their principal duties being that of supervising ecclesiastical life in Rome and of acting as ecclesiastical judges. The eldest of the cardinal-priests was known as the Archpriest, his authority being next to that of the

Pope in spiritual matters in the diocese of Rome. (As a general rule, today, Cardinal Priests are Bishops before their appointment to the Sacred College.)

2. *Cardinal Deacons*: In imitation of the Apostles, who shortly after Pentecost ordained seven deacons to care for the temporal needs of the poor of the Apostolic Church, Pope St. Evaristus, in the 1st century, assigned seven deacons to collect the Acts of the martyrs. But it was under Pope St. Fabian (236-250) that the deacons were assigned their distinctive office. He divided Rome into seven districts and over each district placed a deacon who was in charge of the distribution of charity to the poor and needy of his district. The deaconries were situated in the poorer and more populous sections of Rome and had attached to them an oratory in which the deacon would instruct catechumens. At a very early date the title of "cardinal" was granted to these seven deacons. Later circumstances relieved the deacons of the duty of distributing charity, the division of Rome into the seven districts disappeared, and the number of cardinal-deacons was increased to as many as eighteen, but the cardinal-deacons still retained their duties as official aides to the Pope in the temporal affairs of the Church. Frequently, their senior, the Archdeacon, became the successor of the reigning Pope in

the chair of Peter. Oftentimes today the Cardinal Deacons are only priests at the time of their elevation to the Cardinalate.

3. *Cardinal Bishops*: In the early centuries of the Church dioceses were erected in seven small towns in the immediate vicinity of Rome. They are known as the Suburban Sees. Throughout the history of the Church the number of the Suburban Sees has remained quite consistently at seven, though their location has frequently changed. (In 1914 Pope Pius X determined that the diocese of Ostia was to be united in the future with the diocese which the Cardinal Dean possessed before he became Dean of the Sacred College.) As the duties of the Popes became more and more exacting and voluminous with the growth of the Church, they began to call more and more frequently upon these suburban Bishops for assistance at ecclesiastical functions and for counsel in the affairs of the Church. It was only in the 8th century, however, that the suburban Bishops received the title "cardinal." Although they received the title last of all, the Cardinal Bishops rank above the Cardinal Priests and Deacons in dignity. One of their number, the Bishop of Ostia, has the privilege of consecrating a newly-elected Pope, should the latter not already be a Bishop. Because of their more intimate relationship with the Holy

Father the Cardinal Bishops were oftentimes termed Cardinals of St. John Lateran (the Papal Basilica), just as the Cardinal Priests were called Cardinals of the respective patriarchal churches to which they were assigned.

The division of Cardinals into the three classes of Bishops, Priests and Deacons was thus established as early as the 8th century. It only remained for Popes of later centuries to unite them into a separate body with distinct and definite privileges and duties, as well as to determine the number of Cardinals of the Roman Church. In the year 1586 Pope Sixtus V, in imitation of Moses who was commanded by God to choose seventy men to aid him in ruling the Jewish people, established the number of Cardinals at seventy. Although there have seldom been as many as seventy Cardinals living at any one time, that number has never been changed. The number set for each class by Pope Sixtus is: six Cardinal Bishops, fifty Cardinal Priests, and fourteen Cardinal Deacons.

Conditions resulting from the war have influenced Pope Pius XII in refraining from the appointment of further Cardinals. The recent death, on March 29, 1945, of Cardinal Seredi, Primate of Hungary, reduced their number to forty—five Cardinal Bishops, thirty Cardinal Priests, and five Cardinal Deacons—leaving thirty vacancies to be filled. The eldest of the Cardinals, and Dean of the Sacred

College, is Cardinal Belmonte, Bishop of Ostia and Albano. The Italian Cardinals number twenty-four while the sixteen remaining Cardinals represent twelve other nationalities in the Sacred College. Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia, is the only American representative. He was created Cardinal on March 7, 1921, by His Holiness, Benedict XV.

#### CREATION OF CARDINALS

The creation of Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church is a right reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff alone. And even he is bound to restrict his choice to clerics who are endowed with exceptional learning, piety and prudence. Although other restrictions to the creation of Cardinals have been laid down, such as that forbidding the elevation of one closely related to a living Cardinal, the Pope is free to dispense from these restrictions.

Tradition has established a rather ornate and very significative series of ceremonies which the Popes follow in the creation of Cardinals. In a secret Consistory, at which are present only the Holy Father and the Cardinals, the Pope proclaims the appointment of the new Cardinals. Soon after this Consistory the newly-elected Cardinals are notified by the Cardinal Secretary of State of their elevation. In this letter, also, a date is set for the appearance of the newly chosen Cardinals in Rome. If circumstances should prevent one or the other from

appearing at the time set, he must take an oath to come to Rome within a year. In such an event the red skull-cap (*zucchetto*) and red biretta are sent to the new Cardinal, the latter to be placed on his head by a Bishop or civil-ruler.

Upon their arrival in Rome, the new Cardinals are granted an audience with the Holy Father during which he places the red biretta upon their heads. At the next public Consistory, at which are present the Sovereign Pontiff, the Cardinals and members of the Papal Diplomatic Corps, the Holy Father places the "Red Hat" on the head of the new Cardinals. (The "Red Hat," so-called because of its color, is identical in shape with the "Roman" hat, commonly worn by clerics in Rome. It is a large circular hat, with a wide brim and a small bowl-shaped crown, about one-third the height of a derby.) While imposing the Red Hat the Holy Father recites the following prayer:

For the praise of Almighty God and the honor of the Holy Apostolic See receive the red hat, the emblem of the matchless dignity of the cardinalate whereby is signified that you should show yourself intrepid, even to death and the shedding of blood, for the exaltation of Holy Faith, for the peace and tranquility of Christian people, for the growth and prosperity of the Holy Roman Church, in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Soon after this public Consistory

the Holy Father holds another secret Consistory at which two very symbolic ceremonies are performed. They are called the "closing" and "opening of the mouth" of the new Cardinals. The former symbolizes the obligation of the Cardinals to observe secrecy regarding the affairs of their office; the latter, the duty of giving wise counsel to the Pope. At the ceremony of the "opening of the mouth," the Pope says:

We open your mouth (i. e. empower you to speak) as well in conferences as in counsel, and in the election of the Supreme Pontiff and in all acts, either in or outside the Consistory, which belong to Cardinals and which they are accustomed to perform. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

At the close of this Consistory the Pope places a sapphire ring on the finger of each new dignitary and assigns to each a "titular" church in Rome. (While the ordinary functions and duties of these Churches are fulfilled by other priests, the Cardinals might be called their nominal pastors. They have the right to conduct pontifical services in their "titular" churches.) Shortly afterwards the Secretary of State notifies each Cardinal of his appointment to one or the other of the Congregations of the Roman Curia.

At times the Popes have resorted to a method of creating Cardinals known as reservation "in petto," that is, their names are kept secret, reserved

"in the bosom" of the Holy Father. Should the reigning Pontiff die before the publication of their names in a Consistory, their appointment is null and void nor would the succeeding Pontiff be obliged to admit them to the Sacred College. The reasons for the reservation "*in petto*" are of a prudential nature—for instance, a nuncio, engaged in important papal negotiations, if proclaimed a Cardinal in a Consistory, would be obliged to give up his former office, but if merely reserved "*in petto*," would be enabled to complete his mission.

#### PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES

According to the Code of Canon Law and as befits their dignity as the highest prelates in the Church next to the Holy Father, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church fill the office of principal advisers of the Holy Father and are endowed with a number of remarkable privileges. They fulfil their duties as advisers to the Pope principally in acting as heads or members of the different Roman Congregations and Commissions, as well as in the various Consistories held by the Sovereign Pontiff. The Sacred College is presided over by the Dean, the eldest of the Cardinal Bishops, but his office is one of honor rather than of authority. All of the Cardinals are obliged to reside at Rome. Exempted from this obligation, however, are those Cardinals who are

Bishops of dioceses not in the immediate vicinity of Rome.

Among the privileges granted the Cardinals by the Code of Canon Law are those of hearing confessions at any place in the world and of absolving from all sins and censures save those reserved in a very special manner to the Holy Father. They may bless rosaries and other articles of devotion, attaching to them all the indulgences usually granted by the Holy See and may themselves grant an indulgence of 300 days. They may celebrate Holy Mass at sea, and may also celebrate the solemn pontifical Mass in any cathedral Church outside the city of Rome. Among the articles of apparel and insignia of office the Cardinal is entitled to make use of are the mitre, the crozier and pectoral cross. Many other articles of ecclesiastical attire, both of a red color or black trimmed with red, comprise the Cardinal's wardrobe.

But chief among the privileges enjoyed by each Cardinal is that of participating in the election of the Sovereign Pontiff. This right belongs exclusively to the members of the Sacred College, and whether he be a Cardinal Bishop, Cardinal Priest or Cardinal Deacon, each enjoys an equal voice and vote in the Papal election. This privilege has been theirs since the publication of a decree to that effect by Pope Alexander III at the 3rd Lateran Council in 1179.

## *A Just and Lasting Peace*

THE time is approaching when statesmen must formulate those principles which are to be the guide to future world order. Since the state of the world at the close of hostilities is still in large measure unknown, it is impossible that any specific plans can yet have been agreed upon by the Powers. But the leaders of the victorious nations will soon be obliged to draw up in minute detail treaties intended to govern future international relations. Certain frontiers may need to be re-drawn. Potential aggressors will not only be disarmed but permanently deprived of the means of waging war. Security must be restored to the suffering peoples of the earth. Deeply conscious that the forthcoming Peace Treaty will create conditions making either for true peace or further outbreaks of war, we, the Catholic Bishops of England, Wales and Scotland, consider it our solemn duty both to our flocks and to our own nations to express what in our view are the principles without which peace based on justice cannot be restored.

We are moved to make a joint statement because it is becoming increasingly difficult for citizens of any nation to learn in good time what governments intend to do in their name. In the British Commonwealth

*Statement issued by the Hierarchy of England and Wales and the Hierarchy of Scotland. Reprinted from THE SWORD OF THE SPIRIT.\**

liberty of the individual is traditionally respected. As citizens, therefore, we are acknowledged to bear a great responsibility for the acts of our governments. For this reason, it is the more desirable for our people to be fully informed beforehand of the critical decisions which their representatives at the coming Peace Conference will be called upon to make. Where true democracy flourishes citizens should be clearly told the nature of their obligations, international no less than national.

It is unhappily true that throughout the world official pronouncements of governments have become more and more suspect to thinking citizens. The once honorable term "propaganda" is now discredited. It once meant the spreading of truth. Today it is commonly held to mean falsehood disguised as truth for the furthering of national or sectional interests. Almost everywhere information widely affecting the lives of the people is withheld or distorted as a routine exercise of modern statecraft. In time of war, for

\* 68 Gloucester Place, London W. 1, March, 1945



reasons of security, publication of many facts must be suppressed. There is a real danger that war-time measures may be unduly extended. While it is not in the public interest during war-time to disclose facts relating to the military effort of the nation, nevertheless it is certain that it is against the public interest to make commitments in foreign affairs of which the citizens, who will later be called upon to implement them, are kept in ignorance.

#### RESPIRE FROM PROPAGANDA

When the people lose confidence in the integrity of their rulers, domestic and national security are imperilled. There can be no doubt that the general public, even in the Democracies, are less and less often consulted in those matters which most vitally affect their own future security. Official pronouncements are no longer generally regarded as a true representation of national policy. Many of the words most commonly used are merely equivocal terms. His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, declared in his Christmas message to the world that the word "democracy" itself bears entirely different interpretations according to the race or party which employs it. It has now become almost impossible for ordinary men and women to know the true issues in world affairs.

We are persuaded that the citizens of the world yearn for respite from the persistent encroachment of mod-

ern propaganda upon their domestic lives. They desire, above all things, to be allowed to live in tranquillity. There is an ever-growing cleavage, not only among the nations but within them, between what has come to be called the Left and the Right. During the war the liberation of citizens from foreign occupation has often meant subjugation to fresh oppression, either of foreigners or of native ideologists. With dismal regularity we have seen Christian families raise their heads in hope, only to be crushed again by politicians determined to control their whole life and activities.

The Christian virtue of patriotism in many lands has been dethroned in favor of political allegiance. Because the common good is so often sacrificed to political advantage, men and women no longer listen with confidence to the pronouncement either of their governments or of their national press. We consider it our duty, therefore, to give guidance to our Catholic people. They well know that we are inspired by no other motive than to help them to recognize the truth. The truth is that unless certain principles be acknowledged by all member states of the United Nations, to this war will succeed not peace but an uneasy space of preparation for another yet more terrible war.

We do not make this mistake of believing that ideas current among people of English-speaking races are necessarily more Christian than those



of others. We do not consider that the democratic forms of government with which we are familiar must be most suited to the needs of all other peoples. We recognize, on the contrary, that a wide variety in forms of government is compatible with social justice. We are convinced, nevertheless, that certain principles must be held in common if any family spirit is to be bred among the nations. Without such a family spirit renewed strife is inevitable. At this moment when men and women the world over have grown weary of slaughter and destruction, we think the time most opportune to seek a common understanding among the nations.

The Peace Conference should not make any final or irrevocable decisions until the fever of war has abated. Armistice terms, of their very nature, are directed to the punishment of aggressors. Peace terms, also of their very nature, must be directed toward their rehabilitation. Economically, no less than morally, a vindictive peace would harm the victor nations. Punishment of war criminals is both desirable and necessary. But questions of punishment should be decided long before the Conference sits to discuss the Treaty of Peace. It is the more necessary to stress this fact because there is a growing confusion discernible in the public mind between war criminals themselves and the nations to which they belong. No Peace Conference should be held until questions

of just retribution have been settled. The success of the Conference will depend upon the spirit which animates the nations taking part. Unless their object be the peace and prosperity of all nations and peoples without exception, the Conference must fail to achieve a lasting peace.

#### A DIFFICULT PROBLEM

One of the chief reasons for the failure of the Treaty of Versailles was, in our view, not the harshness towards a vanquished Germany but its lack of sympathy towards small nations within the German orbit. It is clear that partly through mutual mistrust among the Allied leaders and, still more, by reason of the haste with which the solution of age-old problems in Central Europe was attempted, the last Peace Treaty sowed the seed of inevitable conflict. The next Peace Conference must discover, however long the process, what demarcation of frontiers is most likely to meet the wishes of the inhabitants in the respective areas. Dissatisfied citizens not only cause unrest within a nation but foment strife between the Powers. While the wishes of the majority in all territorial disputes must be a paramount consideration, the rights of minorities must not in any way be infringed. This, possibly the most difficult of all the problems which will confront the Conference, must be faced not with the bias of a particular ideology but solely with the intention

of bringing content to the dwellers in territories whose sovereignty is in dispute.

It is more than ever necessary that empty slogans shall not again be used to mislead the people. Citizens of the world should not be made the victims of political prejudice. There was never a time in history when so many politicians claimed to speak for the people. We believe that the majority of citizens have grown tired of the unrest fostered by rival political factions. If the Treaty makers are genuinely desirous of creating the conditions for peace, they must bring to the Conference table a determination not to further their own political creed (whether of the Left or of the Right) but to restore a sense of security to the people of all nations.

We do not accept as true the often repeated claim that its regime is the private affair of each nation. It is clear that exaggerated nationalism leads logically to hatred and fear of other nations. We are, nevertheless, aware that it would be impossible for the Peace Conference to decide on a political structure for all races. Because of ideological warfare we do not pretend to believe that peace can be guaranteed by any Conference. We are, however, of the opinion that if certain basic principles are allowed to serve as a guide, many of the causes of war can be removed. We, therefore, recommend that at least the following points should be acknowledged by

all the governments of the United Nations:

1. The rights of the human person are derived not from membership of any State or Party but from membership of the human family. The first right and duty of the individual is to use his mind and will to achieve his destiny which is eternal life. Any political system which usurps the place of God is fundamentally anti-social. Totalitarianism, by whatever name it may be described, by its very nature is in direct conflict with Christian principles.

2. Since all authority comes from God, the brotherhood of man can have no meaning unless it is based upon the Fatherhood of God. In whatever proportion the Rights of God are denied, in that same measure the Rights of Man are in jeopardy.

3. Since God's dealings with men reflect not merely His justice but, especially, His love, sound international relations must be informed by charity. Hatred, whether of a race or a class, is an insurmountable obstacle to peaceful relations.

4. Justice and charity demand that the powerful shall not oppress the weak. They likewise demand that men of one tradition shall not attempt to enforce their customs upon members of another race.

5. The well-being and prosperity of each race or nation must be the concern of all. Mutual confidence can be established and maintained only when

the more powerful nations display a genuine desire to help the weak. If territories and nations be regarded only as spheres of influence, they become the raw material of future conflicts.

6. The Peace Conference must be a family council. Frontiers, trade agreements and colonization must be considered with an eye, not to military strategy, but to the well-being of all peoples.

7. Press and radio throughout the world should combine to foster true internationalism, which is founded on the love of brotherhood. To this end, less emphasis should be laid upon national sovereignty and historical grievances. In the interchange of ideas,

not only through the press and radio but by means of foreign travel, nationalism and insularity would be progressively discouraged. Nations which refuse to allow their nationals to visit the outside world or to receive ideas from abroad should be recognized as the wreckers of harmony in the world family.

8. Full liberty must be granted to all men to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. The sure hope of universal charity can be discovered in the common desire of men to love God and each other for God's sake. Without God there can be neither security nor peace. "Unless the Lord build the house, in vain they labor who build it."



### ***Five Qualities in Wholesome Family Life***

A writer has listed the wholesome desires of family life to be:

- (1) A stimulating and harmonious relationship in the family group;
  - (2) The consciousness of economic security;
  - (3) A laudable self-esteem;
  - (4) A philosophy of life which accepts one's personal limitations and at the same time evaluates one's own ability, prompted by the motives of humility and justice;
  - (5) A religious faith that is satisfying and sustaining.
- Where any of these five qualities is lacking in family life, we find the family group in some degree affected.—*From the PILOT, Boston, Mass.*

# *Return of the Separated Eastern Churches to the Ancient Faith*

V. REV. MSGR. THOMAS J. McMAHON, S.T.D.

National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association

*Reprinted from THE CANADIAN MESSENGER OF THE SACRED HEART\**

**R**EALLY the saddest tragedy of Christian history lies in the fact that the lands of the Near and Middle East, where the riches of the Sacred Heart of Jesus were first poured out on men, are today almost wholly without Christ. The pages of the *New Testament* are a Christian historical geography of the now separated Eastern nations. The journeys of the first Apostles brought them the Faith, and even before the death of St. John their greatest cities had become Catholic capitals. St. Peter's Pentecostal sermon was for them the beginning of the "Good News" of the Master, and out from Palestine, up to Syria, east to Arabia, Iran and Iraq, west to Egypt and Africa, North to Europe and south to the limits of India, went the faithful Twelve.

Today, over all these lands, hovers a dense Moslem shadow. Hardly a Christian remains in the famed cities of St. Paul in Asia Minor, now the bulk of Turkey. Egypt can boast only a million Christians, of whom only fifty thousand are Catholics, all of them set down amid forty million sons

of the Prophet Mohammed. Palestine, Christianity's cradle, has only 125,000 Christians to over a million Moslems. Iran and Iraq are almost wholly Moslem, and only a few straggling missions on the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula bear witness to the traditional visit of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, long before there was a Mohammed. Only little Lebanon, of all Near Eastern countries, has a Catholic majority, 400,000 witnesses to the glories of the ancient Church, and even these are being slowly outnumbered by the more prolific Moslems. Constantinople, once the most glorious of Catholic cities after Rome, is now a bedraggled European outpost of the Turkish Republic. Here sits the Patriarch, or Chief Bishop, of the great Greek Orthodox Church, who is the titular head of more than 100,000,000 separated Christians.

This tragic picture of faded Christian glory alone would suffice to urge the Holy Father to plead for our prayers. But there is even more reason. It is no exaggeration to say that hope for the return of these Eastern

\* 2 Dale Avenue, Toronto, Canada, August, 1945

Christians, separated from the Holy Father, is now dimmer than it has ever been in generations. To the hatred for Rome, engendered in these dissidents over the centuries since the woeful schisms of their fathers, there is now being added a setting of political circumstances which bodes much ill to the one Church of Christ. Few people realize that every eighth person in the world is a Moslem, that there are 260,000,000 of them in the world, with their greatest numerical strength centered in the Near and Middle East. Last year nearly 300,000 Moslems made pilgrimages to their great Near-Eastern shrine of Mecca. Throughout World War II the Allies have courted the Arabs, not only because of their strategic position in the path of Hitler's earlier designs, but even more because in their lands is that precious flowing gold of war, oil. The Arab League, formed at Cairo in February of this year, showed its potential strength in the deliberations at San Francisco, and, all in all, unless freedom of religion and of religious organization is guaranteed to the Christian minorities of these lands, the pages of the Church's history there will most certainly be drenched in blood. We must not forget that the ancestors of most of these Moslems were themselves Christians, and even today it is far more common to see Christians become Moslems than vice versa.

The recent disturbances in Syria

and the rising agitation for a settlement in Palestine are also political elements which may yet engulf the remnants of Christianity in the East. In Christ's own homeland the Christians, dissident and Catholic together, are hopelessly outnumbered by Jews and Moslems. Despite the long tenure of the Arabs and Jewish memories of their Land of Promise, it is not too much to urge that any plan that ignores the presence in Palestine, over twenty centuries, of our own holiest shrines, is wholly nugatory and sure to crumble. The entire Holy Land was made sacred by the footsteps of our Divine Master. To piece it up; or to make of these shrines a sort of "Christian Enclave," would be the worst of gerrymandering. Yet, whatever plan for Palestine may be carried out, the future of the Christian position there is very dark indeed.

#### RUSSIA EXTENDS HER POWER

The emergence of Russia as the great power of the East and the unexpected position she has given to the Orthodox Church which, only a moment ago, she so ruthlessly persecuted, must also be fitted into the political pattern so ominous to attempts at reunion. The anti-Papal attacks of the late Patriarch Sergius and of *Pravda* seem to be the forerunners of a far more formidable opposition. Into the Ukraine and down to the Balkans and Greece, a region which is the stronghold of so many

separated Eastern Christians, Russia has extended her power, and we shall not see, today or tomorrow, that power removed. Her sponsorship of her own Orthodox Church could well be the prelude to a patronage over the numerous autonomous Orthodox units in the sphere outside her own national boundaries. Old Czarist Russia exercised, before 1917, a degree of influence over them, because the center of Orthodoxy lay within the confines of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. In the days of the Bolshevik persecution, all this ceased, and many there were who fondly hoped that our generation would be fortunate enough to see the great separated Churches of the East turning once more toward the Common Father of Christendom.

#### BLOOD OF MARTYRS THE SEED OF CHRISTIANS

Still we should never despair. Twenty-four Orthodox bishops and 1,400 priests, slaughtered by the Soviet Government between 1917 and 1923, were martyrs for the faith that was in them. Millions of Armenians, dissident and Catholic, fell before the Turks between 1914 and 1918. All over the Near and Middle East there have been individual examples of martyrdom in our time. Indeed, it is our own humble belief that there have been more martyrs in our day than there were in the 250 years of the Roman persecutions. Ours has been an age of martyrs, and if, as Tertullian of old said, the blood is the seed,

then our day is only the prelude to a new flowering of our ancient Christian Faith.

By faith we can courageously pray for the return of these Eastern Christians, for they still stand as witnesses to the Christ of the East and to the early ages of the Faith. Though far from union with the Pope, they still keep the real Mass, valid Sacraments and a true Priesthood. They have withstood temptations to apostasy from Christ and they have shed their blood in torrents. All this they have done because they are conscious of their Christian heritage.

Meanwhile, over against more than 100,000,000 of these separated Christians there stand 9,000,000 Eastern Catholics, whose fathers have flocked to the feet of the Holy Father and thus have shown the way of true reunion. Since those lamentable schisms, extending from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, these millions have come back to the fold, and they are today the bridge over which the other dissident millions can come. In every nation of the Near and Middle East you will find these Catholic witnesses to the unity of faith and discipline. The Popes have ever looked on them with special fondness and treated both priests and people with special honors. Crowded around apostolic altars, and raising their voices in ancient liturgies, they give us new hope in the central rubric of the first Divine Liturgy offered at the Last

Supper: "Do this in commemoration of Me!"

Because of the presence of these Eastern Catholics among the millions of Eastern dissidents and Mohammedans, we can never consider the cause of reunion a Utopian dream. In 1893, when the great Leo XIII was looking toward the glorious sunset of one of the greatest pontificates in history, he bequeathed this legacy of an apostolate for reunion: "Because of our great age, we do not expect that it will be granted us to see the happy event; but we salute it from afar and try to hasten it with our prayers." Meanwhile he insisted: "Let not this hope (of reunion) be considered Utopian, for that were unworthy of Christians. The promise of Our Lord must be fulfilled, 'There shall be One Fold and One Shepherd' . . . Difficulties there are, but they shall in nowise discourage our apostolic zeal and charity. It is true that rebellion and estrangement have fostered a deep-rooted dissent in men's hearts, but shall this make us give up hope? Please God, never!" Pope Pius XII continues this optimism of Pope Leo XIII in the August, 1945, General Intention of our Apostleship.

#### ONE WORLD IN CHRIST

Someone has likened the story of the once great Churches of the East to that of the patient Job on the dung-hill, while the Church of the West has, like Jacob, been wrestling with

an angel. Over the centuries, the patient Christians of the East have fallen before waves of diabolical schisms and have succumbed to the menacing minions of Mohammed. It is almost miraculous that they still keep their remnants of ancient Christianity, even in schism. It is even more wonderful that some of them have been able to rise above the deep-rooted tradition of anti-Roman and anti-Papal feeling and to recognize in the Pope the true head of Christ's Church, the successor of St. Peter. Out of gratitude for what the East has meant in these past twenty centuries, we of the West have a bounden duty to pray and to work for the achievement of One World in Christ. If our Church has been likened to Jacob wrestling with an angel, then we must launch forth against powers and principalities toward the vision of One Fold under one Shepherd.

To do this, we must pray and study and help. Pope Pius XI, whom many like to call the Pope of the Eastern Rites, said many wonderful things about the faith of these separated Eastern nations: "People do not realize how much faith, goodness and Christianity there is in these bodies now separated from the age-long Catholic truth. Pieces broken from gold-bearing rock themselves bear gold. The ancient Christian bodies of the East keep so venerable a holiness that they deserve not merely respect, but complete sympathy." The Holy

See has attached an indulgence of three hundred days to a special prayer for the union of the Christians of the East:

O Lord, Who has made all peoples one in the confession of Thy Name, look down we beseech Thee on the Christian peoples of the Near East. Mindful of the lofty position they once held in the Church, we beg Thee to inspire them with the desire of returning to that place yet again, that with us they may make one fold under the one Shepherd. May our minds and theirs be imbued with the teachings of their Doctors, those holy men who are our own Fathers in the Faith. Keep us from any mistaken course that might tend to estrange them from us. Grant that the spirit of harmony and love, true tokens of Thy presence among the faithful, may hasten the day when their prayer and ours shall be joined together, so that all peoples and every tongue shall confess and glorify Our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

#### HOLY MASS OFFERED IN FOURTEEN LANGUAGES

Yet we cannot pray with full hearts unless we first have full minds. In North America, Canada and the United States, despite the fact that nearly 2,000,000 Eastern Catholics and dissidents exist in our very midst, there is still an abysmal ignorance of their history and of their Christian life. It is a tragic accident of history that there is a sharp division between East and West, and that most of the East fell through heresy and schism from the unity of the Faith, but it is by no means an accident that there are, in the Church, six varied rites or liturgies—six different ways of offer-

ing the one Mass. Nor is it an accident that the Mass, or the Divine Liturgy, as the Holy Sacrifice is called by many Christians of the East, is offered today in at least fourteen different languages. It was Christ's own will that every tribe and tongue should confess to His name.

All Catholics should seek the intimacy of the Last Supper. There they see Our Blessed Lord offering the First Mass. It was a simple ceremony or rite—the Jewish paschal feast together with the sacrifice of the New Law. Our Lord took bread and the chalice of wine. He offered them to His Heavenly Father. He spoke over them the Sacred Words and He gave His own Body and Blood to His Apostles in Holy Communion. The language Our Lord used was that of His own land—Aramaic or Syro-Chaldean. He then commanded His apostles: "Do this in commemoration of Me."

These first followers took this simple Liturgy to the ends of the earth. The peoples among whom they went elaborated the first Offering, Consecration and Communion of the One Bread. That explains the existence in the Church of the Antiochene, Alexandrian or Coptic, Armenian, Byzantine, Chaldean and the Roman Rites, with twenty-four subdivisions or variations. Wherever the Scriptures were translated into the language of the people, we often find the Liturgy or Mass translated into the vernacular.



Only once in Christian history was there any nearly universal language for the Mass, and this was Greek. In Rome itself, the Mass was celebrated in Greek for over 200 years and it may be that the first Latin Mass was celebrated in North Africa rather than in Rome. Today our own Latin Mass is followed by 350 millions, and its nearest rival among the Eastern Rites is the Byzantine, or, as it is more commonly called, the Greek Rite, if we count not only the Catholics who offer it but also the many millions more of dissidents, separated from the Church.

Any Catholic who condemns these Eastern Rites and demands that all conform to our Latin and western pattern is really committing the crime of *lèse majesté*, in that thereby he ignores the origins of the Mass and completely nullifies the whole Papal program of the last hundred years. In 1908, at a special celebration of the Byzantine Liturgy in the Hall of the Beatifications at the Vatican, commemorating the thirteenth centenary of the death of St. John Chrysostom, Pope Pius X stood at his throne and solemnly chanted his blessings in Greek. Far back in the history of the Church the Popes have been the unwavering protectors of these Eastern Churches, with their ancient rites, as Pope Benedict XIV asserted in the middle of the 18th century: "If any harm has been done to the rites of the East, it is not to the Holy See that

it can be ascribed." Our own Holy Father echoed this constant tradition, when, in the beginning of his pontificate, he turned to the Churches of the East: "Whatever be the difference of rite, the flame of faith is one, which enlightens and guides all the members of the Church of Christ." Would to God that the many more millions of Eastern dissident Christians, separated from Rome, but still in possession of these same ancient rites, would follow their Eastern Catholic brethren, who preserve their rites and customs under the paternal eye of Christ's Vicar.

#### THE CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION

Now we know that it is not easy for Western Catholics to understand this panoply of rites and customs. In fact, the immediate reaction to knowledge of their existence is one of prejudice. If, under God, the Eastern nations are ever to come in their full numbers back to the Fold, this prejudice must be removed by reading and study. Mountains of books, magazines and pamphlets, both learned and popular, have been written on the subject, and, thank God, the number of informed disciples is rapidly increasing. Perhaps the greatest impetus to all this was given by Pope Pius XI, when he founded over twenty years ago the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, with headquarters in New York City. At that time

the Pope said: "The magnificent success of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association now places at our disposal both a method and the means for meeting the tremendous needs which pour in upon us from Russia and the Near East—problems which hitherto we scarcely knew how to solve." Our present Pope, looking back on the score of years of the Association's existence, has recently written: "The Catholic Near East Welfare Association furnishes a providential aid to the interests of Christianity in the East."

Through this work the Catholics of North America have built hundreds of churches in every country of the Near and Middle East, have supported the poor, the sick and the orphaned, and have aided materially in the formation of thousands of priests and nuns for the apostolate of reunion. At the present time the Holy Father

is depending on its resources to aid the war-spent areas and to renew the Christian life of countries demoralized by this awful carnage.

In addition, because its Papal Founder insisted that its second aim should be the education of Western Catholics in the ancient Christianity of the East, the Near East Association serves as an information center for all who would know more about our Eastern brethren. Its National Secretary is the author of a series of elementary pamphlets, written in a most popular vein and available for the asking. No one on this continent can say that the problems of the Eastern separated Christians remain impenetrable and that the medley of rites is more confusing than consoling. If the peacemakers are talking about "One World," we must remember that it was Christ Who prayed at the First Mass "that they all may be one."

## THE CATHOLIC MIND

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF John LaFarge

EXECUTIVE EDITOR: Benjamin L. Masse

With the collaboration of the *AMERICA* staff

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: William H. Dodd

EDITORIAL OFFICE: 329 West 108th St., New York 25, N. Y.

PUBLISHER: Gerald C. Treacy

BUSINESS MANAGER: Joseph Carroll

BUSINESS OFFICE: 70 East 45th St., New York 17, N. Y.